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Essays in

AEGEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

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Arthur J. Evans

Essays in
AEGEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Presented to

SIR ARTHUR EVANS

in honour of his

75th birthday

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My dear Sir Arthur,

My fellow-writers, who with me dedicate this volume to you, have asked me to indite a short preface to it; and it may not seem improper on such an occasion that the preface should take the form of a personal letter. Though, as one who has possessed and enjoyed your intimacy and friendship for nearly fifty years, I would wish to say much more on my own account, I must only express in brief phrase the common thought and feeling of us all. We may have had varying degrees of public or private association with yourself; but we are all united in a common admiration and an earnest desire, which is the parent of this work, to pay homage to one who has done more than any in this University, we may say more than any in this nation, to reveal and illuminate the ancient European culture of the Mediterranean. Some of us through personal contact with you, and all of us through your writings, have been able to realize and appreciate the gifts and qualities which have made you so illustrious a discoverer in the world of archaeology: your bold imagination guided by critical judgement and severe historical scholarship, your unflagging energy and hopeful enthusiasm, your singular flair *in the discovery of unexplored sites where the treasures of the past lie hidden. By these qualities, and by the unsparing devotion of yourself and your resources, you have been able to reveal to us a brilliant chapter of European history undreamed of before. There is not a single department of Greek studies, not a branch of Mediterranean archaeology, that is not in some way*

indebted to your work; for it has quickened and widened our various studies and impelled us to new points of view. We hope that this volume of papers, whatever value they possess in other respects, will at least be a witness to this. They have been prepared and published under the auspices and with the encouragement of the Oxford Philological Society, who wished to commemorate your seventy-fifth anniversary by some recognition of your splendid life-work which has shed special lustre on your University. Many obstacles have delayed its publication; but we hope you will accept it as a belated birthday gift. Conspicuous among your other endowments is your youthful vitality, which Time has spared. We earnestly hope it may long continue, so that later years may bring you fresh triumphs in the field of science.

Yours very sincerely,
LEWIS R. FARNELL.

EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD.
July 5, 1927.

The articles entitled 'The "Swimmers" Dagger from the Tholos Tomb at Vaphio' and 'Some Minoan Potter's-wheel Discs' have been translated from the Greek by Professor J. P. Droop.

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THE MINOAN INFLUENCE ON THE DANUBIAN BRONZE AGE

MINOAN influence on the Central European Bronze Age is generally admitted, although at the moment there is a tendency to discount its significance as a natural reaction against previous exaggerations; certainly it is no longer sufficient proof to point to spirals on Hungarian swords, since the existence of a 'Thraco-Pontic Neolithic Province' in which the spiral was at home in 'pre-Mycenaean' times has won recognition. Still the patterns on a bone cylinder from the Middle Bronze Age site of Vattina in the Banat[1] and a bone disc from Tiszafured[2] imitating motives familiar on ornaments from the Shaft Graves and Kakovatos cannot easily be explained away.

FIG. 1. Hollow bone object from Vattina. ½.

The real difficulty in appreciating the contributions of Mycenaean civilization to the development of the Danubian bronze industry lies in the very indirect nature of the relations between the two areas. On the one hand, at the time of the great Minoan expansion, the continental peoples had created their own barbaric culture, albeit largely under the stimulus of the ancient civilizations to the south-east. On the other hand there is no evidence, nor was there any cogent motive, for a Minoan colonization of the Danube valley. Nevertheless that area possessed mineral resources—the gold of Transylvania and the Banat, the

[1] *Archaeologiai Értesitö*, 1902, p. 49, fig. 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1905, p. 168; cf. *ibid.*, 1909, p. 411.

cinnabar of Serbia, and the tin of Bohemia—which could be bartered for Aegean manufactures. That such exchange of products did actually occur is demonstrated by the discovery of a few exotic objects of Aegean provenance in the heart of the continent: near the Transylvanian gold-fields, in the Arad district, on the March in Lower Austria, and even in Switzerland Cypriote daggers[1] have come to light, and these must date at latest from the very beginning of the continental Bronze Age. In a grave at Almas in the Bürzenland[2] a segmented bead of greenish-blue faience associated with spectacle spirals of (?) copper has recently been unearthed. The isolated sword from a Middle Bronze Age grave at Hammer, near Nuremberg,[3] resembles so

FIG. 2. Sword from Hammer, near Nuremberg $\frac{1}{6}$.

closely a weapon from Ialysos in the British Museum that, if not an actual import, it is a singularly successful copy of an imported original. But few such patently Aegean objects have come down to us. In tracing Minoan inspiration we have as a rule to rely upon the clumsy and often barely recognizable copies of imported weapons or trinkets manufactured by barbaric craftsmen.

One such indication which has hitherto escaped detection is the so-called 'heart-shaped' pendant, encountered in many graves along the Danube valley from Serbia to Bavaria. Yet a comparison with the 'sacral ivy-leaf' pendants of gold foil from Kapakli[4] or better still with the paste plaque in the form of the Minoanized *waz* figure from Menidi at once reveals the origin of this otherwise puzzling type. The Danubian ornaments are of thin leaf (generally

[1] See my *Dawn of European Civilization*, p. 190.

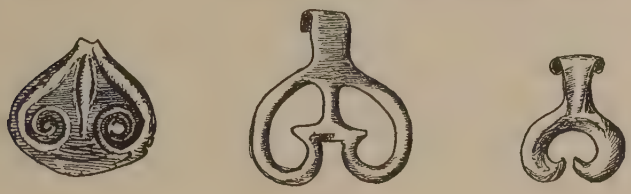
[2] In the Museum at Kronstadt-Brasov, unpublished.

[3] *Abhandl. naturhist. Gesellschaft zu Nürnberg*, xi, p. 3 and pl. IV.

[4] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1906, p. 235, fig. 12.

bronze[1]); some have been beaten out in a form just like the 'sacral ivy-leaves' from Kapakli. The Menidi jewel would in better days have been overlaid with gold foil. If an economical jeweller had limited the gilding to the raised outlines he would have produced an object which, deprived of its backing, would correspond exactly to our bronze pendants!

Chronologically the context in which such objects appear is quite consistent with their derivation from a Late Minoan II prototype; the earliest are found in deposits belonging



a. *b.* *c.*

FIG. 3. Pendants: (*a*) Paste, Menidi; (*b*) Bronze, Hungary; (*c*) Bronze, Hungary. ½.

to the older typological phase of the Middle Bronze Age (Reinecke's period B). The grave of Hammer is characteristic of the immediately succeeding phase. Now although the guards of the Hammer–Ialysos swords are reminiscent of older types, the continuation of the flange round the hilt is only met on the latest class of L.M. IIIa rapiers.[2] Hence the weapons in question should be dated round about 1300 B.C.

The introduction into Central Europe of the Minoan type just described cannot be attributed to the amber trade; for its distribution only coincides with the amber trade-route in Bavaria, and even there such pendants are always

[1] A somewhat degenerate variant in gold is in the National Museum at Belgrade. Cf. *Starinar*, Belgrade, 1907, pl. II.

[2] Cf. Sir Arthur Evans's classical discussion of this subject in 'The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos', *Archaeologia*, lix.

associated with typical products of the 'Hungarian' bronze industry. Their immediate centre of distribution may be located in the Middle Danube basin, perhaps in one of the flourishing settlements of the Banat where, as remarked above, other contemporary signs of Minoan inspiration are detectable. It may accordingly be concluded that it was gold from Transylvania or the Banat streams that, finding its way through the hands of manifold intermediaries to the Aegean workshops, brought in exchange the trinkets that barbarians so unintelligently copied.

What route did such traffic follow? The available evidence, scanty and insufficient though it be, suggests that the channel by which the life-giving current from the Aegean reached Central Europe was the Danube itself. The first reflections of south-eastern stimulus as traced by Professor Vassits radiate inland, southward as well as northward, from settlements on the shores of that river. The first certain imports from the Aegean basin are found along the valleys of the Danube and its tributaries, while the strongly Trojan flavour of the earliest continental metal products attests the grip of the masters of the Hellespont upon contemporary commerce with the interior. And even in Classical times down to the rise of the Macedonian empire the lands beyond the Carpathians belonged to the economic province tapped by the Greek colonies on the Euxine.[1] If the Minoan decorative tradition were not implanted in the Middle Danube valley by protagonists of the Argonaut saga, its presence at least presupposes Aegean merchants at the mouth of the Danube. Perhaps it is no accident that the ornaments we have discussed above belong to types particularly popular in north and central Greece.

V. Gordon Childe

[1] This follows both from Herodotus' account (IV, 48) and the distribution of Greek vases.

A NOTE ON MINOAN WRITING

EVANS has shown that close intercourse existed between Minoan Crete and Cyprus, and it is probable that the two syllabaries had a common foundation. But we know the Cypriote forms only after several centuries of independent development after the fall of the Minoan power. We cannot therefore expect a very frequent correspondence in the forms of the two systems. The less so as Cypriote has reduced the number of signs, retaining only the necessary simple open syllables.

The following six Minoan signs are practically identical with Cypriote forms:

= Cypriote *ta*.
= „ *to*.
= „ *lo*.
= „ *pa*.
= „ *u*.
= „ *se* with an additional prong.

These give some ground for hoping that other forms, less obviously alike, may be also connected.

We know the values of the Cypriote signs, but we have no proof that the values were the same in Minoan writing. One indication, however, is worth mentioning.

A long tablet, of which Evans gave me a copy some years ago, consists of groups of signs (presumably names), each group being followed by a sign which Evans has shown to be the ideogram for 'man', and the numeral 1. There are sixty-four such groups (or names) remaining, of which eleven end in the Cypriote sign for *lo*, and eleven (or ten) more in the sign for *to*. The double resemblance inclines me to think that we have not to do with mere coincidence, but that the Minoan values of these signs may be the same

as the Cypriote, and that *-o* may be a common ending of names in Minoan. Moreover, eleven other groups end in 𐄷, which may be compared, though less obviously, with the Cypriote 𐠋 = *po*. We then have just half the groups ending in *-o*. Whether this *-o* is part of the stem, or indicates a case-form, such as a dative, does not matter for the present purpose.

At intervals in the list we have a summation expressed by the group 𐄂𐄁𐄇𐄇, followed by a numeral. This gives us the one Minoan word of which we know the meaning, for it must mean 'total, men' so many. The word for 'total' is 𐄂𐄁, as Evans has pointed out, and 𐄇 must be a determinative prefix indicating the plural of 𐄇 = 'man'. If we take Cypriote values, 𐄂 = *to* and 𐄁 may be either *su* or *tu*. [In a non-Greek Cypriote text from Amathus, now in the Louvre, we have *tu-su*, which might have this meaning, but I forbear to speculate further.]

A fragment of a similar tablet published by Evans in *Scripta Minoa*, p. 48, contains thirty-seven groups with legible terminations. Each group is followed by the sign 𐄑, with some additions. Evans takes this as the ideogram for 'woman'. The groups, however, are not necessarily names of women, for in l. 14 a group is followed by 𐄑𐄃, which cannot mean that XYZ is four women. There are also other descriptions. In l. 13 the first group is followed by 𐄑𐄀𐄐𐄋, and in l. 7 the first group is followed by 𐄑𐄀𐄐𐄑𐄀. These seem to be persons of some kind, since in l. 5 the group is followed by 𐄑𐄆𐄐𐄋𐄀𐄐𐄑𐄀, with a preliminary total, broken, but probably [𐄆]𐄃. Therefore the nine are included under a common category, viz. nine persons. I suggest that 𐄐 is the ideogram for 'child', that 𐄋 means 'male', and 𐄑 (a variant of 𐄑) is 'female'. [But they may have syllabic values (cf. l. 3), and 𐄐 may be *koppa*, as if κοῦρος and κούρη.] Then l. 5 will be 'XYZ : 7 women, 1 boy, 1 girl = 9 (persons)'.

Of the 37 legible terminations, 𐄌 occurs 8 times, 𐄎 4

times, and 𐄙 3 times. In all there are 20 different terminations, of which 9 also occur as terminations in the other tablet.

A total is given in l. 6, where 𐄂𐄁 is the word for 'total'. Here 𐄁 can hardly be the feminine ending, since it sums up 45 women, 5 boys, and *x* gi[rls], unless it agrees with the first item only. Hence 𐄁 = 𐄇 in the other tablet.

The purpose of the two tablets seems to be the same. The groups cannot be descriptions (e. g. mason, smith, painter), because in that case some of them would recur. But I have noticed only two groups which occur twice each, out of 101. They must be names, and presumably the names of persons to whom slaves or prisoners were allotted, or of persons who provided slaves to carry out public works —a sort of λειτουργία. I think the latter is the more probable, and that is why the record was kept. The persons named were entitled to some sort of consideration, in payment or otherwise. The slaves did not require to be named any more than if it were 1 horse, 1 ox.

We have, then, a large number of Minoan names, and it is on these that we may hope some day to base the decipherment of the signs. Apart from Greek tradition, the only names we have for comparison are five (three personal and two (?) place-names), described as 'Keftian' on the Egyptian tablet published by Spiegelberg in 1893, and again by W. Max Müller in 1894, but unfortunately none of these seems to fit any of the groups in these two tablets.

A. E. Cowley

[1] See below, pp. 90–99.

CRETAN INFLUENCE IN GREEK RELIGION

SO much has been written on this subject in recent years, especially under the stimulus of the brilliant discoveries made by the great archaeologist to whom this collection of papers is dedicated, that it may seem overbold to venture on so multiplex a theme within the limits of a short essay. But in a field of progressive investigation, where new material is constantly pouring in, it is useful at times to pause, to look around and consider what our harvest has been or is likely to be. And my object is not so much to advance any new theory but to submit those that have been put forth on this theme to as severe a scrutiny as I can apply, in the hope that it may be possible to distinguish between the proved or the probable and that which is improbable or untenable in the light of the available evidence.

It is now generally admitted that the complex Hellenic polytheism was a blend of northern elements engrafted upon the religious ideas and practices of a pre-Hellenic Mediterranean culture; and of this latter no one now can doubt but that Crete was the most brilliant and influential home. As the secular power of Minoan Crete was evidently far-flung, it is natural to believe that its religion also spread itself down the tracks of its conquest or trade. And the claim of the Cretans recorded by Diodorus Siculus to have originated most of Hellenic religion, which scholars of a generation ago might have imputed to the unfortunate trait in the Cretan character that St. Paul deplores, is not to be lightly rejected. But we must guard ourselves against exaggeration.

By the help of cautious and scientific philology, by a critical study of ritual, legend, and ethnic data, we may be able

to distinguish between the Hellenic and the pre-Hellenic strata in Greek polytheism: we may discern that such divine names as Athena, Artemis, Aphrodite, Hephaistos cannot be explained on the lines of Hellenic or 'Indo-Germanic' philology, while names such as Zeus, Hera, Dione, Poseidon, Ares, Demeter, Hestia, with certainty or probability can; and we are therefore justified in regarding the former as pre-Hellenic, as they are indefinitely pre-Homeric. But we must not hastily assume that what is pre-Hellenic in Greece is Minoan-Mycenaean. We cannot suppose that the peoples of prehistoric Greece and of the adjacent Aegean area in the second millennium B. C. were speaking the same language or maintaining the same religion; we have to reckon with such dimly known un-Hellenic stocks as Pelasgoi and Leleges, speaking different tongues and contributing each its own material to the multiform fabric of Greek polytheism. Therefore in explaining any particular local cult, the theory of Cretan origin or the survival of Cretan influence only becomes legitimate when it is confirmed by well attested legend or archaeologic data clearly pointing to Crete. Also we know that the archaeologic evidence can be fallaciously used; for instance, the finding of the porcelain lion's head at Delphi, an undoubtedly Cretan artifact of the last period of the Palace of Knossos,[1] no more justifies us in attributing to Crete the foundation of the Delphic oracle than we should be justified in maintaining an Egyptian origin for the Eleusinian mysteries, because a tenth-century statuette of Isis was found on the shore of Eleusis. We know that religious centres attract trade; and alien art-objects can be brought to alien temples.

We must also recognize that some of the significant and prominent features of Minoan-Mycenaean religion, the sanctity of the pillar, for instance, or of the axe, are not unique and peculiar features; pillar-cult had a northern

[1] Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, p. 87.

vogue as well as a Mediterranean, and the sacrificial axe may have long possessed a holiness in other Mediterranean cult-areas, independently of Cretan influence. Therefore any particular pillar-cult in Greece is not at once to be correlated with Crete; and we will not rashly assume with Dr. Cook in his volume on Zeus that a later Hellenic hero who is swinging the axe, as Theseus in the Olympian pediment, is maintaining a Cretan tradition.

One may observe that in treatises which have hitherto handled this question of the influences of the Cretan upon the Hellenic religion, there has been no attempt to distinguish the different periods in which this influence may be supposed to have radiated. Certain evidence and reflection have led me to conclude that we must distinguish at least three: (*a*) an earlier period, purely Cretan, which we may call Minoan; (*b*) a middle period but still pre-Homeric, when a wave of Dionysiac cult had arrived in the island, perhaps from Phrygia; (*c*) a post-Homeric period, when Crete had become hellenized, but was still able to influence the religion of the mainland of Greece.

The monuments that are of most importance for our present quest belong to the first of these periods. They have been handled in detail by archaeological experts, especially by Sir Arthur Evans. And the chief and obvious induction from them, on which he has laid frequent stress in his writings, is that a goddess was predominant in the various areas of Cretan-Mycenaean or Minoan religion. The appearance of the god is strikingly rare, once appearing as a youthful figure armed with a spear and posed before the seated goddess as her lover or son, in any case as her subordinate, twice as a deity descending from the sky, and in one case holding a shield; to these we may add the youthful figure on a gem from Cydonia erect in hieratic attitude between two lions.[1] But we should have to modify the induction we have drawn if we

[1] *J. H. S.*, 1901, p. 163, fig. 43.

were convinced that the axe which figures so prominently in the early religious monuments of Crete is to be interpreted as the symbol of the thunder, the mark of the Thunder-God or Sky-God; and this view has been recently expounded with much wealth of comparative folk-lore by Dr. Cook in his treatise on Zeus. But the scepticism of Nilsson,[1] who would explain the Minoan sanctity of the axe as arising from its use in the sacrifice, seems justifiable; and no Minoan monument shows us the axe in close relation with the male deity; but once at least it appears in the hands of a goddess[2] and once of a female worshipper,[3] who holds a pair uplifted. And Nilsson's ritualistic interpretation of the axe is somewhat confirmed by its appearance between the horns of a bull's head on a clay seal-impression from Knossos.[4]

Nor again can we use the myth of Minos' close intimacy with Zeus as any proof that a god was the over-lord of the pre-Hellenic Minoan religion; for such a myth bears the impress of the Hellenic spirit and is of no historic value except as indicating the survival of a dim remembrance that the early Minoan ruler was a priest-king of semi-divine character.

We may, then, safely conclude from the evidence so far available that the earliest religion of civilized Crete was mainly devoted to a great goddess, while the male deity, always inevitable in goddess-cult, was subordinate and kept in the background. But we must not hastily assume that his worship was monolatric, or that in the various centres

[1] *History of Greek Religion*, pp. 15–16: Sir Arthur Evans had suggested this already in *J. H. S.*, 1894, p. 274.

[2] On steatite gem from the palace of Knossos, *B. S. A.*, 1901, p. 102, fig. 59. Cf. the type on seal-stone found in a tomb outside Mycenae of goddess between lions with snakes above her head serving as support for the double axe, published by Wace, *J. H. S.*, 1922, p. 264.

[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1900, pl. 4.

[4] Cf. the double axe raised between the bull's horns on Mycenaean vase, *J. H. S.*, 1901, p. 107.

of the Minoan-Mycenaean power the same great goddess was worshipped and with the same conceptions always attaching to her. It is safer to suppose a polytheism for the earliest periods of Cretan history, as we know the later periods were always polytheistic. We may believe that there were at least four different goddess-names in vogue in pre-Hellenic Crete, Rhea, Britomartis, Dictunna, and Aphaia; and even if these were attached originally to a personage imagined as identical, we know the inevitable trend of different religious names to evolve different personalities—one fruitful source of polytheism.[1]

But as intercourse became firmly established between different centres of the Minoan realm, we may naturally believe that a similarity of religious imagination would work in the shaping of the various local ideas of the presiding goddess. We may be sure that she was always a goddess of fertility and life both in the animal and vegetable world, a divine mother, and the guardian of the beasts of the wild, a Πότνια θηρῶν, as certain monuments show her flanked with lions and holding beasts or birds in a hieratic attitude; and the same deity could be imagined as a huntress, pursuing the stag with the bow. It is a natural evolution, as we discern in other religions and especially in the Hellenic, that a goddess of fertility should take on the character of a chthonian goddess, who fostered the buried seeds and also cared for the souls of the departed. And the ample evidence, collected in recent years, showing the prevalence of the type of the Minoan snake-goddess,[2] proves that in

[1] A plurality of goddesses is suggested by the two figures that appear to be two Minoan goddesses clasping hands (?) on the small ring found in the sixth tomb of Isopata, published by Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, p. 32, fig. 41[b].

[2] Nilsson's scepticism (*op. cit.*, p. 13) is not justified: in Hellenic religion the snake has both a chthonic and domestic symbolism: apart from the snake, the consecration of the double axes in a tomb of the palace, Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, pp. 55–6, confirms his view of the chthonic character of the goddess.

certain cult-centres, if not universally, the combined ideas of life and death, with all their pregnant possibilities for higher religion, had come to attach themselves to the female divinity. And that this complex characterization of her was broad-cast, is shown by the seal found in 1921 in the excavations of the British School at Mycenae,[1] on which the goddess is represented with a snake head-dress supporting a double-axe and with lions rampant by her side. We cannot, then, separate the snake-goddess from the goddess to whom the lions and the double-axe were consecrated; and we have the right to assume that the goddess standing on the mountain holding a spear, and flanked by lions, is the same divinity. Also a new fact of great interest for Minoan religion is revealed for those who accept Sir Arthur Evans's interpretation of the scene on the 'Ring of Nestor', namely that the chthonic associations of the goddess had already before the passing of the Minoan culture-era developed a mystic belief in a happy Paradise beyond the tomb under her presidency.

This is all that we can say on the existing evidence concerning the character of the Minoan goddess. Doubtless, as we should expect in so advanced a civilization, some higher psychic and spiritual ideas attached to her. But concerning these the monuments are silent. Certain myths and names have led to the surmise that the Minoan religion had evolved the mystic idea, pregnant for later theology, of a divine Virgin-Mother. I have shown reasons elsewhere[2] against such a theory. Hellenic evidence shows us that the same goddess in different rituals and at different seasons might be worshipped as Maid and then as Mother, under different cult-titles corresponding to the different stages in a woman's life; this might account for Britomartis, 'Sweet Maid', and for Aphaia; or they may be the figures of

[1] Wace, *J. H. S.*, 1922, p. 264, figured in Cook, *Zeus*, ii, p. 1221, fig. 1014.

[2] *Cults*, iii, pp. 305–6.

independent local cults, differentiated from the great Mother-Goddess.

Finally, it is to be observed of the religious monuments of this first period, that they present us with no divine child at all; the child beneath the sheep on the Knossian seal has no divine air,[1] and the representation may be inspired by such a legend as that concerning the founder of Miletus. The three rough and scarcely hewn blocks of stone, discovered by Evans in one of the Palace Chambers at Knossos,[2] in which he discerns a faint resemblance to the forms of a woman, a child, and an ape, are too casual and uncertain to be called into evidence. The whole rich series of Minoan-Mycenaean monuments has hitherto revealed us nothing that suggests the story of Rhea and the infant Zeus, or the orgiastic dance of the Kouretes. Where we discern an orgiastic dance depicted by this art, the dancers are women. Doubtless, the caves later to be associated with stories of the birth of Zeus were holy shrines long before the coming of the Hellenes; but this proves nothing concerning the personality first worshipped there. So far as excavation has gone, the Cretan art-monuments reveal us a mother-goddess without a child. And this phenomenon is so striking as to justify our using it to mark off the first period from the second.

The view has long been familiar to students of Greek religion that this Minoan divinity survived in the names and personalities of some of the leading Hellenic goddesses. But the evidence in each case requires careful testing. It appears strongest in respect of Athena and Aphrodite, both names being derived from non-Hellenic speech. The character of Athena agrees in many respects with that of the Great Goddess of Crete. Her maidenly isolation and supremacy in certain cult-centres sharply marks her off from the usual type of the 'Aryan' goddesses and suggests a

[1] Evans, *J. H. S.*, 1901, p. 129, fig. 17.

[2] *B. S. A.*, 1904–5, p. 11, fig. 4.

Mediterranean origin.[1] The striking prevalence of her worship in a very early period in Attica, Boeotia, and Rhodes could well be explained by the close association of those countries with Minoan Crete.

At Corinth, a site early possessed of this pre-Hellenic culture, we find later the mysterious cult-title of Athena Ἑλλωτίς, and this is a non-Hellenic word obviously connected with the Cretan word Ἑλλώτια, the name of a feast consecrated to Ariadne, 'the very Holy One' of the island. More direct and striking is the evidence from Mycenae, the recent discovery of a painted tablet,[2] showing the outline of a goddess armed with the 'Mycenaean' shield, an art-type which could naturally develop into the later 'Palladion'; and the existence of an archaic temple of Athena at Mycenae has been proved by earlier archaeological evidence.[3] It is no real objection to this theory of Athena's Minoan origin, that her Hellenic characterization does not present all the features found in the goddess-cult of Crete; she is no Πότνια θηρῶν, has no marked interest in the animals of the wild and in the chase. But we have seen reason for supposing that the Minoan Pantheon included a plurality of goddesses and names, and no one goddess need have assumed all the divine functions attested by cult-scenes of Cretan monuments. Athena could have derived her maidenly and warlike aspect, her interest in cities and the arts, from old Cretan religion. The later Hellenes may have developed with greater stress her warlike and Amazonian character, weaning her from all sex-life, just as her preoccupation with the higher life of the State weaned her from the life of the wild and the functions of a vegetation-goddess. Yet even these, which were a prominent feature in the older Minoan goddess-cult, were not wholly obliterated in the later ritual of Athena. And though the conception of her as the warrior-maiden strongly

[1] See my *Greece and Babylon*, pp. 95–7.

[2] *Ath. Mitth.*, 1912, p. 129.

[3] *Jahrb.*, 1901, p. 18.

prevailed from the pre-Homeric period downwards, and she may be regarded as originally a counterpart of Britomartis 'the Sweet Maid', yet it seems that some cults and cult-legends were able to invest her with a maternal character or an interest in maternity. Thus in Elis, where early Cretan influences were rife, she was worshipped by the women as 'Athena the Mother', and according to certain Κρητικοὶ λόγοι known to Strabo,[1] she was regarded in the island as the mother of the Korybantes.

If this view of the origin of Athena is correct, it is interesting to note how whole-heartedly the Hellenic immigrants adopted her; for she had become pre-eminently the Achaean goddess before the poems of Homer were composed; and as the figure of Athena is deeply interfused with the later development of Greek civilization, our sense of its indebtedness to the old Minoan religion is enhanced. And it may well have been that hers was the real name of the Minoan-Mycenaean goddess who survived at Mycenae and Argos, and that it was merely supplanted by the Hellenic appellative 'Hera', signifying the 'noble one'. Old Minoan tradition might explain the pre-eminence of the priestess of Hera at Argos,[2] and the maintenance of sacred snakes in the temple of Hera Argolis at Lanuvium.[3]

Reasons may also be urged for the belief that Aphrodite took her origin from the same religious source in Minoan Crete. Her name, as well as—in the earlier period—her personality, is obviously un-Hellenic; and as all attempts to explain it on the lines of Indo-Germanic or Semitic philology have been futile, it is reasonable to suppose that it belongs to an indigenous Mediterranean speech. We observe also that, in contrast to Athena, she had not yet been wholly hellenized by the time when the Homeric poems were formed; for there she is presented as strongly anti-Achaean and is treated with no reverence or respect. The poet also regards Cyprus as her true home, and for

[1] p. 472. [2] Polyb. xii. 12. [3] Ael. *Nat. An.* ii. 16.

him Cyprus is alien land. The modern view, suggested by the ample monumental and literary record of the Cypriote cult, is inclined to agree with Homer's; although many scholars have explained the Cypriote Aphrodite as a derivative from the Semitic Astarte and her Oriental sisters. But here, as elsewhere, the Semitic theory of origins may reasonably give place to the Minoan; or at least the latter may be allowed prior consideration. We have ample proof that pre-Phoenician Cyprus was within the sphere of Minoan culture and influence; even the later script of Cyprus shows traces of affinity with the Minoan. Considering the far-ranging power of the Minoan state, we may suppose its language was also widely diffused; there is as yet, indeed, no evidence that early Crete and early Cyprus possessed the same speech; but there is nothing to bar the supposition that 'Aphrodite' was a goddess-name that travelled from Crete to Cyprus, or was originally common to the language of both islands; its form suggests two elements, the same structure as the name Britomartis. The claim advanced by the later Cretans that Aphrodite was originally their goddess is not unreconcilable with the Cypriot tradition that she came to them from across the sea; it is true that the Cypriotes insisted—and such traditions as to origins of cult are not to be lightly discarded—that her cradle-State whence she came over to them was Askalon. But this Philistine city owed much of its culture to Crete and may have brought its goddess thence. In the earliest art-monuments that can be associated with this goddess, in Cyprus, Askalon, and the Minoan-Mycenaean area, we find the prominence of pillar-cult and the sanctity of the dove; also the familiar classic type of Aphrodite riding on the Swan may be traced back through Cyprus to an early tradition of Minoan art; and it is worth observing that the Aphrodite of Cyprus and Askalon was imagined as armed and agrees in this feature also with the Minoan divinity. If we survey the later Hellenic records of the

two islands, we find certain religious coincidences in the Aphrodite-cult that suggest an identity of ancestry; there is strong reason for believing that the Cretan name 'Ariadne', 'the very Holy One', was an early Hellenic description for Aphrodite herself; and there is a noteworthy record of a grove of Ariadne-Aphrodite at Amathus, where the tomb of Ariadne was shown. And the late romantic tales concerning the maidens of Crete and Cyprus, called Gorgo and Parakuptousa, reveal a worship in both islands of Aphrodite as a goddess of death and the underworld.[1] This is further illustrated by the strange Cretan cult-epithet Σκοτία; and this aspect of her, which was recognized in other centres of her worship on the Greek mainland,[2] may be regarded as aboriginal; for Sir Arthur Evans has found clear testimony of it in the religious conception of the Minoan goddess.[3]

We may doubt whether the idea of the death and resurrection of the great goddess, which we may detect in later Cypriote and Cretan legend, and especially in the ritual-legend of Aphrodite, belonged to early Minoan tradition; for, like the connected idea of the goddess sorrowing for her dead lover, it may have been derived at a later stage from Anatolian or Semitic sources. The mourning Aphrodite is a known and interesting type of later Hellenic art; but it is not recognizable with certainty among the Minoan monuments, although Sir Arthur Evans has suggested that the figure of a goddess bending low over a small 'temenos', on a late Minoan seal from Mycenae, may be interpreted as the goddess mourning over the tomb of her lover:[4] but this interpretation of the hieratic gesture does not well accord with the rest of the representation. It is not relevant here to consider the many elements that may have been infused into the later Aphrodite cults from Anatolia or from

[1] *Cults*, ii, pp. 652–3.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 652.
[3] *Tomb of the Double Axes*, pp. 55–6.
[4] *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 161, fig. 116.

Semitic religion. And this short survey of the question concerning Aphrodite may conclude with noting that two important centres of the Hellenic worship preserved the tradition of Cretan origin; at Athens the cults of Aphrodite Ἐπιτραγία and Pandemos are associated with Theseus, the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos at Thebes with Kadmos, and in each the legends preserve the links with Crete.[1] The Aphrodite of Attica belonged to the Ionic stratum of the population; and the house of Kadmos was Minyan. The voyages of Theseus and Kadmos may indicate the Ionic and Minyan relations with the great island.

This evidence, then, inclines us to the belief that the name and personality of this goddess arose originally in Crete. But we must also reckon with the hypothesis that the cult was indigenous in a wide religious area that included parts of Asia Minor and the proximate islands, and that possibly no single locality in this area is now discoverable as its aboriginal birthplace. Nevertheless the influences of Crete on the later Hellenic worship and art-forms of Aphrodite remain attested.

Many of the same reflections recur in considering the origins and development of Artemis. Here also the name is baffling. It is not explicable as Semitic or Indo-Germanic; and may therefore be regarded as probably a word of the indigenous Mediterranean language. But it would be rash to suppose it Eteo-Cretan; for if we may trust Solinus, the name was rarely used in Crete,[2] where Britomartis, Diktunna, and Aphaia were mainly current as its equivalent, designating the huntress maiden-goddess. It is true that we have evidence from inscriptions and other records of the worship of the goddess under the name Artemis in later Crete; and in one case she took a title from a pre-Hellenic place-name, Ῥοκκαία,[3] but all these may be

[1] So also the ancient Aphrodite xoanon in Delos was associated with Ariadne; *Cults*, ii, p. 740, R. 60.

[2] *Cults*, ii, p. 588, R. 131[a].

[3] Aelian, *Nat. An.* xiv. 20.

associated with later Hellenic foundations. What is more significant is that in those Hellenic areas of Artemis-worship where the record reveals features of greatest antiquity, Arcadia and Attica for instance, we can find no legendary hint of any Cretan origin or association. Nor is it likely that Crete was responsible for the close association of Artemis with Apollo, which though not aboriginal was established before the poems of Homer took shape. Yet it may be said that in the early Hellenic imagination and in the art-types therefrom evolving, Artemis, to a greater extent than any other divinity, was invested with the traits of the Minoan goddess. She is maidenly like Aphaia, Diktunna, and Britomartis; she is a mighty huntress as was Britomartis; and like the great Minoan mother-goddess she is Πότνια θηρῶν, pre-eminently fostering the life of the wild and 'the tender cubs of ravening lions'; and early Hellenic art adopted for her the old heraldic type of the Minoan goddess, erect and holding animals by the neck: and Sir Arthur Evans has shown reasons for believing that even the winged type of the so-called 'Persian Artemis' was Minoan rather than Oriental in origin.

The evidence is too slight and too vague for dogmatism. But as a working theory we may put forth the view that Artemis was a name of pre-Hellenic but not Minoan speech, the goddess of a non-Hellenic backward community of the peninsula, who developed her personality mainly on the lines of the great Minoan religion that spread around them, so that she could easily be identified with local divinities of Crete and Anatolia.

These are all the leading goddesses of the Greek pantheon for whom a theory of Cretan origin could be put forward with some *vraisemblance*. Names such as Hera, Demeter, Dione, betray a northern origin; though the northerners may have applied them here and there to pre-Hellenic divinities whom they found on the land or attached them to pre-Hellenic centres of cult. We have seen reason

for supposing that this happened at Argos, where the great Minoan goddess took on the name of Hera. And the view is now prevalent that the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter were of pre-Hellenic origin. As regards this theory, it is only relevant here to point out that at least no valid evidence is forthcoming to connect them with Crete. That excavations have revealed Mycenaean objects at Eleusis only shows that it was a place of resort in Mycenaean times. If Cretan religion had been the source of the mysteries, we should certainly have expected that some Eleusinian legend would have preserved the tradition, however dimly. The mythic names of Eleusis are all Hellenic, and where there is any legend concerning migration it points to the north. We may further note that in the representation on the 'Ring of Nestor', which Sir Arthur Evans skilfully interprets as embodying the eschatologic beliefs of the Minoan age concerning the soul after death,[1] there is nothing that can be linked with what we know of the Eleusinian mysteries. There is no hint in that Minoan scene of an underworld god or of the abduction and resurrection of the goddess or the birth of a Holy Child.

Kore and Demeter must be regarded primarily as Hellenic creations. But this view does not clash with the belief that much of their ritual was pre-Hellenic.

The return of the Earth-goddess, rising up from the earth in spring, was no doubt enacted in Greek ritual in later times; and Sir Arthur Evans has discovered it in a very interesting representation on a Minoan ring belonging to the collection said to have been found in a Mycenaean tomb near Thisbe.[2] He rightly calls attention to the striking resemblance that this bears to the classical art-type that appears on the gold staters of Lampsakos; and it may well be that Demeter and Aphrodite borrowed the poppies that occasionally figured as their emblems from the older

[1] *Ring of Nestor*, pp. 48–70.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 15, fig. 16.

Minoan religious art. But we are not therefore justified in concluding that the Hellenic idea of the Spring-goddess rising from the earth was derived from a Minoan source; it may have been a tradition both of the Minoans and the Northerners, as indications of it far from the Mediterranean area may be found.[1]

How far the general ritual associated with the early period of 'Cretan' cult lived on in later Hellenic ceremony is a question of too minute detail to be here considered. But one illustration may be given of its influence on later Greek legend and worship. The Minoan-Mycenaean ritual-sanctity of the axe is so impressively presented by the monuments that we should naturally expect it to have left some imprint on the later mythology and cult. Now the axe as a sacred emblem or religious fetish is most prominent in the later legend and art of Tenedos, and the ἱερὸς λόγος concerning it is closely linked with Crete. In the strange ritual of the Attic Bouphonia the axe plays a weird and mystic part, being treated as an animate and sacred object; and 'the Cretan stranger' is the pivot of the whole story explaining the ritual.

The period which, for reasons already given, I have distinguished as the second period of Cretan influence upon Greek religion is marked by the emergence of the myth and cult of Rhea and the infant Zeus. Neither of these were traditional personalities of genuine Hellenic religion. The earliest Hellenes who settled in the island must have found them already established there. But so far as the evidence of the monuments hitherto explored reveals to us the main forms of the Minoan religion, we must regard the cult-group of the mother and the child as post-Minoan. We notice the marked Dionysiac and orgiastic character of the ritual consecrated to this Cretan pair, the equation of the Kouretes to the Korybantes, of Rhea to Kybele, the close resemblance between the child-Zeus and the child-

[1] *Cults*, iii, p. 26.

Dionysos who was prominent in later Hellenic ritual.[1] The most probable hypothesis for explaining the facts is to assume that before the hellenization of Crete, therefore in the pre-Homeric period, the Thrako-Phrygian cult of Dionysos and his mother, with an orgiastic ritual celebrating the birth, death, and resurrection of the vegetation-god, had travelled to Crete directly from Phrygia, and that the name Rhea, an Eteo-Cretan name of the great goddess of the island, displaced that of the Thrako-Phrygian 'Semele'. What is surprising is that the first Hellenic settlers in Crete should have misnamed the holy babe 'Zeus'; for there is no evidence that they had ever worshipped or imagined their High God in infant form. If the hypothesis stated above is correct, the babe's true name was Dionysos, or possibly Zagreus. We must conclude that the Hellenes at the time of their earliest settlement in Crete were not familiar with either of these names, having not yet received the Dionysiac cult from Thrace, which we may believe was beginning to penetrate into Greece in the eleventh century. We can, then, only suppose that they attached the name of Zeus to this mysterious infant because they found the latter pre-eminent in the island-cult. As Rhea was essentially the Great Mother, and by this accident in Crete became interpreted as the mother of Zeus, the idea would develop that she was also the mother of his Olympian fraternity. When later the cult was transmitted from Crete to the Greek mainland, it brought with it the two distinct names, 'the Mother of the Gods' (or 'the Great Mother') and Rhea; and according to the trend of Greek polytheism distinct cults under these two names arose. But they are only found sporadically in Greece, and mainly in localities where we have proof or glimpses of early association with

[1] In this connexion the story is noteworthy that the Cretan Mother hangs the child-Zeus on a tree as the figure of Dionysos was often hung. *Cults*, i, p. 37, n. b.

Crete, such as Attica, Elis, Arcadia.[1] And it is noteworthy that the worship of Rhea and the infant Zeus, which in Crete was associated with the idea of the death and resurrection of the god, did not deeply touch the traditional Zeus-worship of the Hellenes; also that it was not blent with the broadspread Hellenic worship of Dionysos, which had entered from Thrace. It counted, then, but little for the ordinary religion of classical Greece; but it must be regarded as an important phenomenon in the history of religion, a Cretan contribution to the development in the Mediterranean of the worship of a Holy Infant.

There are other cults of Greece, of lesser importance, where we meet the same divine pair, the mother and the child, but under other names: the mysterious mother with the serpent-babe called Sosipolis in Elis, and Ino-Leukothea with the infant Palaimon-Melikertes;[2] and a careful study of both of these inclines us to surmise that Crete was their birthplace.

More enigmatic is the figure of Kronos, who was associated generally with the legend of Rhea and sometimes with her cult. All that we can say of the name is that it is un-Hellenic, and was adopted by the Hellenes from an alien religion and speech. It is *prima facie* reasonable to suppose that the first Hellenic settlers in Crete, who discovered there and adopted Rhea with her babe, found Kronos in the same cult-complex. If this could be proved, we should believe that Kronos was brought to Crete by the same wave of religious migration that brought the mother and the infant Dionysos; and we find one record that links Kronos both with Crete and Phrygia under the name Akrisios.[3] The evidence is doubtful and comes from late sources; but this view accords with the fact that no such figure as the mature god Kronos, the husband of Rhea, occurs in Minoan

[1] *Cults*, vol. 3. [2] *Cults*, i, p. 38; *Hero-Cults*, pp. 45–7.

[3] Hesych. and Et. Mag., s. v. Ἀκρίσιος and Ἀρκέσιον ἄντρον.

legend, or can be recognized in the recently discovered Minoan monuments.

To this second period of Cretan influence, which may be called proto-Hellenic, we may ascribe the names Pasiphae, Europa, Ariadne, Hellenic designations attached by the new-comers to the great goddess or the local goddesses of the island; and the personages designated by these names drifted over to Greece and survived in local legends and cults. The name Pasiphae has been naturally interpreted in a lunar sense; and later Greek evidence may be quoted for the view that prehistoric Cretan religion included solar and astral elements. I have considered the question of the Cretan sun-god in dealing with the Greek cults of Helios and especially the Rhodian.[1] Our most valuable source of evidence, the Minoan-Mycenaean monuments, do not speak very clearly; we see on not a few solar, lunar, and astral symbols in the upper field of art-monuments where the great goddess appears: but the typical representation of her does not suggest a moon-goddess Pasiphae. The evidence from the records about Talos and the Ἀδιούνιος ταῦρος is vague and ineffectual. It is chiefly the remarkable supremacy of Helios in Rhodes throughout the historical period, the difficulty of explaining this on the lines of Hellenic religion, and the tradition pointing to a close cultural connexion in the prehistoric period between Rhodes and Crete, that incline us to the belief that the worship of the elements of light formed a more important part of 'Minoan' religion than the monuments themselves attest.

Though Crete was entering on its decline at the close of the ninth century, its religious influence was not yet exhausted; for it is to the post-Homeric period that we should naturally assign the migration of Apollo Delphinios from Crete to Delphi. The narrative in the Homeric hymn to Apollo has been misinterpreted as if it gave us

[1] *Cults*, v, pp. 418–19.

the true foundation-story of the Delphic oracle and as proof that it originated from Crete. Although such a view could easily be adjusted to the fallacious theory of Wilamowitz that Lycia was the real birthplace of the Apolline cult, it is contradicted by much evidence from other tradition and cult-facts. All that the hymn proves is that a special cult-title Delphinios came to the Delphic god from Crete. This was an important event which we should place in the post-Homeric period, for we cannot help associating the arrival of the Delphinios cult with the change of name from 'Pytho' to 'Delphoi', whatever may be the true etymologic relation between Delphinios and Delphoi;[1] and this change was post-Homeric. The event was of great importance, because we may believe that the cathartic ritual of Delphi, a potent inspirer of moral and legal progress, came in with this cult of Delphinios. And partly on the authority of the Hymn, partly on other legendary evidence,[2] we can well believe that Crete was the centre and the missionary of this purificatory system. And considering how pregnant with social consequences were the new ideals that prevailed from the eighth century onwards concerning purity, especially in the matter of homicide, we can estimate highly the contribution of even later Crete to Greek civilization.

L. R. Farnell

[1] *Cults*, iv, p. 145 and p. 186, n. a.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 146–7.

A LATE MYCENAEAN VASE FROM CYPRUS

(Plates I and II.)

THIS vase was first noticed by R. C. Bosanquet in his description of the L. M. pottery from Palaikastro,[1] where he cites it for the stipple-painting of the goats' bodies. About this he says: 'a characteristic motive at the close of L. M. II. is the use of a mottled brown wash as a filling for bodies, *e.g.* of birds or cuttlefish, or for stop-gap rocks between them, as in one of the big Isopata jars[2] and one from Argos'.[3] This use of the stippled wash is certainly characteristic of L. M. II., and stippling was a very ancient process in Minoan painting for imitating polished stones and eggshells,[4] but it was not hitherto known in L.M. III. Many pieces of stippled pottery,[5] particularly cylindrical mugs of Mycenaean type, were found at Mycenae in the recent excavations of the British School, but their precise date is not yet established. Our Cypriote vase seems, therefore, to be unique in this respect, for it is undoubtedly Late Mycenaean. Its close technical connexion with the preceding Middle Mycenaean (L. M. II) style places it at the very beginning of that period (L. M. III *a*). Its painted design also is unique, and shows a very curious association of decadent ceramic art with the vivid naturalistic creations of M. M. III *b* and L. M. I.

The vase (pl. I) was found in Tomb 17 at Maroni in 1897, and is now in the British Museum.[6] It is a large two-handled jar of the type that is sometimes called a 'Cypriote *krater*'. The form is entirely Minoan, having been developed from the Knossian 'palace-style jar' (which

[1] *Palaikastro Excavations* (*B. S. A.*, Suppl. I, 1923), p. 74. The provenience is wrongly given there as Ialysos.

[2] A. J. Evans, 'Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos' (*Archaeologia*, lix), pl. c.

[3] W. Vollgraff in *B. C. H.* xxviii (1904), p. 377.

[4] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, pp. 178, 594.

[5] *B. M. Cat. Vases*, I, i, A 788–9.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, ii, C 368. Height, 14 inches. I have to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for the drawings reproduced in the plates.

was itself derived from an ordinary M. M. storage jar[1]) by widening the neck and exchanging the three or more small body-handles for two larger handles joining lip and shoulder. Changes in shape and arrangement of the handles are numerous in its history. Our vase must be one of the earliest examples of this variety: its nearness to L. M. II models is seen in the moulded handles, which are slightly hollowed on each side of a central ridge, as well as in the technique of painting. But its other features are not particularly early: the foot is neither very deeply blacked nor heavily banded, the black neck bears no reserved lines, and the flat lip is decorated with a commonplace pattern of close bars. Fragments of similar jars were found at El Amarna,[2] and the group can therefore be assigned to the generation between 1375 and 1350 B. C. Indeed, if this example were earlier than El Amarna, it would be out of place in Cyprus, where Mycenaean influence did not begin before that time.

The frieze of Cretan goats leaping and browsing among rocks (pl. II) is a spirited composition that can only be matched on monuments of much earlier date. The Vaphio cups (L. M. I *a*) are the obvious parallel. Backgrounds are seldom seen in paintings or reliefs later than L. M. I, and do not occur elsewhere in this profusion. Here, as on the Vaphio cups, the distant ground is represented as hanging from the upper border of the frieze. Under the belly of the central galloping animal in *B*, and again under the left-hand goat in *A*, there is a mass which differs from the others in having a single-line border, close filling-stripes, and in being attached to the boundary line at its narrowest part. If the others are meant for rocky ground, these two are not. They may be Homeric dust-clouds raised by the scampering hooves[3]—

ποδῶν ὑπένερθε κονίη
ἴστατ' ἀειρομένη.

[1] *B. M. Cat. Vases*, I, i, A 739 note. [2] *Ibid.*, A 993.

[3] Suggested by Professor J. D. Beazley, who referred also to two pictures

Such realism can be seen also in the spray and bubbles of the Flying Fish fresco[1] from Phylakopi and on one of Seager's dolphin-jars from Pachyammos[2] (both M. M. III *b*).

The plastic rendering of the landscape on the Vaphio cups gives a natural appearance to the rocks, but some wall-paintings of the same period contain formal versions that come very close to the ineffective convention of the vase-picture. Thus the frieze of partridges and hoopoes from the Caravanserai[3] at Knossos has banded rocks resembling the painted imitations of cut and polished marble in earlier and later frescoes of the Palace.[4] Here is a clue to the source of the novel and ambitious subjects that are so often portrayed on vases of this kind. Most of the known examples come from Cyprus, where the bulk of the pottery of this period has been found; but the class is represented elsewhere, and there is no reason for attributing it to a 'Cypro-Mycenaean' fabric. Indeed such attribution becomes impossible if the decoration was derived from wall-paintings earlier than the vases.[5] The commonest of these subjects are chariot-groups, scenes of departure or arrival; from Cyprus there are also a bull-baiting, a boxing-match, and the very remarkable scene of women worshipping the pillars of a house.[6] A distinguishing feature of the whole class is their inadequate draughtsmanship, particularly in human figures, and this fact has tended to place them at the end, instead of in the middle of the Mycenaean Age, where they certainly begin. Relative dates within the series

of clouds on Attic r.-f. vases (B. M. E 73, Aineias saved by Aphrodite, and Louvre G 115, the Memnon cup), which have hitherto been taken for rocks.

[1] *Phylakopi*, pl. III; *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 541.

[2] *Pachyammos*, pl. XIV, p. 23.

[3] *J. H. S.* xliv (1924), p. 265, fig. 5.

[4] *Palace of Minos*, i, pp. 356, 539.

[5] So E. Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus* (*Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, 1926), p. 219.

[6] *B. M. Cat. Vases*, I, ii, C 338 &c., C 399, C 334, C 391: for the last see also A. J. Evans in *J. H. S.* xxi (1901), p. 112.

are indicated to some extent by the character of the flowers and other ornaments in the field.

Men and animals were subjects in which the vase-painters had no traditional skill and to which they were manifestly unable to elevate their art at this moment of its decadence. These vases give a fair idea of the measure of artistic accomplishment at the time of the most vigorous expansion of the Mycenaean power. Significant also is the innovation, perhaps due to the breaking-down of old religious scruples, that permitted decorators of pottery to invade these fields. It was no new thing for the lesser art to seek its motives in the greater, but never before were wall-paintings fully reproduced on vases, nor any living creature represented except birds and fishes. The present example is undoubtedly the copy of a wall-painting, whether taken directly from a much older fresco on ancient palace walls or borrowed from contemporary painting in which the ancient manner had been preserved. It is in either case sure evidence that Late Mycenaean art was still dependent upon pure Minoan models.

E. J. Forsdyke

I. LATE MYCENAEAN VASE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

a

b

II. LATE MYCENAEAN VASE: DESIGN ON SHOULDER

KEFTIU

(Plates III, IV *a* and *b*.)

SOME years ago Mr. G. A. Wainwright suggested[1] that the land of Keftiu was not, as had generally been supposed, to be found in Crete but in Cilicia, because in some of the Egyptian representations of Keftians objects of Syrian rather than of Minoan type are shown as brought by Keftians. Also, some of the Keftians represented are not, apparently, purely Minoan in their dress and general appearance. On the other hand, it could not be denied that other representations depict people who are undoubtedly Minoan in their appearance. Such are the people shown in the tombs of Sennemut or Senenmut (pl. IV *a*) and Rekhmire' at Thebes. In Sennemut's tomb they are obviously Minoan Cretans, and are accepted as such by Mr. Wainwright, though he, quite rightly, commented upon the apparently un-Minoan type of sword represented (see Hay's drawing, *B. S. A. Ann.* xvi, pl. xiv); this, however, need not trouble us now, as we know from the recent French excavations at Mállia that broadswords were used by the Minoan Cretans as well as rapiers. In Rekhmire"s tomb, though their waists are not so narrow, they are really quite as obviously Minoans (fig. 1), with the characteristic Minoan hair, the tight (metal?) Minoan waistbelt, and true Minoan codpiece (see

Fig. 1. A 'Keftian or Man of the Isles' from the wall-painting in the tomb of Rekhmire' at Thebes (*c.* 1450 B. C.). (*B.S.A.* viii, p. 171, fig. 2.)

[1] *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vi (1913), pp. 24 ff.

below, p. 39).[1] In the Rekhmire' tomb they are described as 'Great men of Keftiu (and) the Isles of the Sea'. Mr. Wainwright was of opinion that we ought to dissociate the Keftians from the Men of the Isles, the latter being true Minoan Cretans, the former hypothetical 'Syro-Minoan' Cilicians. He would presumably see representatives of both in the Rekhmire' tomb. It is on this point that it is very difficult to agree with him, and it is a crucial point in his argument that Keftians and Minoan Cretans were quite distinct.

Now there is no reasonable doubt that Keftiu is the Kaphtor of the Hebrews. Final *r* often disappeared in Egyptian words, and though the name 'Keftiu' or 'Kefatiu' has been explained as Egyptian and meaning 'the Hinder Lands' (or lands 'at the back of beyond'), it may equally well have been a Cretan name (perhaps related to the Latin—whether originally Indo-European or not—*caput*, *capitul*: it is at any rate significant that in Hebrew *kaphtor* is also used for the capital of a pillar), of which the final *r* or *l* was preserved in Asiatic foreign pronunciation but lost in the Egyptian. The 'isles' or 'coasts' of Kaphtor (*Ai-Kaphtor*) must have meant generally to the Hebrews the south coast of Asia Minor and very possibly the Aegean Isles and Crete.

If so, the Philistines, who came from the coasts of Kaphtor, must have come from Crete. But we know of no people in Crete like the Philistines, who with their allies, the Shardana and others, were clearly non-Cretan in dress and armament, and absolutely different from the Keftians. We do know of people like them, with their peculiar

[1] See also Mr. Wainwright's own illustration, *loc. cit.*, pl. XVII. There is no resemblance between this typically Minoan coiffure in Rekhmire' and the Anatolian or Hittite analogies which, in order to substantiate an Anatolian *locus* for Keftiu, he tries to find, *loc. cit.*, p. 67, pl. XVI, 26, 30. In the last instance the hair is much shorter and not dressed in the same way, and in the other the subject is a woman.

feathered headdress, in Asia Minor, and we know that the helmet-crest was considered to be a Carian invention. Also, Sir Arthur Evans has pointed out the resemblance of the representations of headdresses on the Phaistos Disk, which shows feather-crested men, to those shown in later days in Lycia and Caria. The Phaistos Disk is generally recognized as non-Minoan and non-Cretan, but doubtless came from a country very near Crete and the Aegean. We have on a silver vase from Mycenae a representation in *repoussé* of crested warriors apparently defending a city against the attack of warriors wearing helmets with the horse-tail crest, who are probably Minoans or Mycenaeans.[1]

The Philistines might well, therefore, have come by way of Crete on their eastward wandering. It is significant that they seem in Hebrew accounts to be divided into two main tribes, the *Pelethim*, or Philistines proper, and the *Cherethim*, who are presumably Cretans. These Cretans may well have been a Cretan contingent who joined the Philistine horde on the way, and an alternative suggestion is that the Hebrew bringing of the Philistines as a whole from Kaphtor may, if Kaphtor included Crete, be a reminiscence of the fact that the Cherethim, at any rate, came from Crete.

On the other hand, no one would deny that the expression 'isles' or 'coasts' of Kaphtor may equally well have extended to the southern coast of Asia Minor, whence the Philistines came, and, though we have no proof whatever of this, even as far east as Cilicia. If so, people may have lived in Cilicia who were known to the Egyptians as Keftians, and these would necessarily be much subject to Syrian influence. We know, for instance, that in the fifteenth century B.C. a Mycenaean colony was established in Cyprus, which is very near Cilicia. Since the Minoans in Rekhmire''s tomb are called Keftians, these Cyprian Mycenaeans would presumably have been called Keftians by

[1] Hall, 'A Note on the Phaistos Disk', *J.H.S.* xxxi (1911), pp. 119 ff.

the Egyptians. But we have no knowledge of any such colony in Cilicia or anywhere on the Anatolian coast. At the same time, it must be admitted that practically no archaeological exploration of this region has taken place, and we may yet discover remains of the hypothetical Cilician Keftians. For they are still hypothetical, and the question is whether we have any reason to suppose their existence at all.

Mr. Wainwright would say that if there are any Cretans in Rekhmire"s tomb they are not those called Keftians but Men of the Isles. But why should we dichotomize the Keftians and the Men of the Isles in Rekhmire"s inscription, as Mr. Wainwright does? The second phrase may be simply in apposition to the first. In fact, it is far more probable that it is so than that a copula is to be understood. At any rate the apposition-theory is borne out by the fact that all Rekhmire"s Keftians (and?) Men of the Isles are dressed alike, and are obviously all of one retinue. Which are the Cretans and which the Cilicians among them? Which are the Keftians and which the Men of the Isles, if we are to distinguish them? Mr. Wainwright does not tell us. Why should some of them have come from Crete and others from so far away as Cilicia? Although their dress is not so strikingly Minoan as is that of Sennemut's foreigners with their very Minoan waists, they are all alike obviously Minoans, as we see from Mr. Wainwright's own illustration (pl. xvii). Therefore one concludes naturally that the phrase is appositional, and the words 'of the Isles' simply an amplification of 'Keftiu'. But even supposing that 'and' was intended to be supplied, why need a copula mean so great a differentiation in locality, such as identifying 'Keftiu' with Cilicia and 'the Isles' with the Aegean would imply? Why should the phrase not mean simply, as we should say, 'Great Men of Crete and the Aegean Isles'?

In the absence as yet of any proof of the existence of Minoans or pseudo-Minoans in Cilicia, is this not the more

natural explanation? In any case it certainly is in the case of Rekhmire"s Keftians, *who, if his 'Men of the Isles' are Cretans, are certainly Cretans too*: they are all the same. We cannot surely claim these Minoans as Cilicians because they bear Syrian-looking as well as Minoan objects as tribute, and because certain other representations of Keftians or Men of the Isles do not show those Keftians or Men of the Isles as so clearly costumed in Minoan fashion (*e.g.* in the tombs of Menkheperre'senb (plate IV, *a*, *b*) and Puyemre' [1]), and also show them as bringing non-Minoan objects of tribute to Egypt. If we do, we must also claim the Men of the Isles as Cilicians too, with the result that all these obviously Minoan men are denied Cretan nationality altogether. Which is absurd.

The natural supposition is that all Rekhmire"s men were Cretans, and further, that all the other representations of Keftians are probably of Cretans too. The Egyptians were not always accurate in their representations of foreigners or their gifts. They were apt to confuse the peoples of the North together, and an inferior artist might easily (especially if he had himself never seen Keftians but was working on hearsay) produce an inferior representation of Keftians, confusing them to some extent with Hittites or Syrians, and might easily confuse the works of the different foreign peoples. At the same time it is not impossible that Keftians might have brought Syrian or Anatolian works of art to Egypt as well as their own. We must also be careful in assigning this or that object too definitely to the Aegean or the Syrian area: our knowledge of these matters is still fluid and is increasing daily, so that what is considered in one decade to be good Syrian may be considered good Minoan or good Egyptian in the next. Several of the vases figured by Mr. Wainwright among those brought by Keftians and Men of the Isles are neither Minoan nor Syrian of the sixteenth century B.C., but

[1] Davies, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vi, pl. XVIII.

Egyptian; *e.g.* the pedestalled bowls in his plates IX, X, and XI, the jugs XI, E, F (ultimately Syrian, in the third millennium B.C., doubtless, but in the sixteenth century long naturalized as Egyptian), and the vases XIII, 81, 90. Whether these Egyptian or egyptizing vases were made in Syria or in Crete does not appear: the one source is as probable as the other.

Then Mr. Wainwright's argument for the supposed geographical position of Keftiu as indicated in the Egyptian descriptions seems to me weak. Egyptian geographical lists and implications as to geographical position are notoriously vague and unreliable, except in the most general indications. In the fourteenth century we find in the temple of Rameses II at Abydos, Keftiu represented mixed up with places in Syria, and given a Semite as its representative, whereas if Rekhmire' was right, the Keftians were Minoans and not Semites at all. And even in the tomb of Menkheperre'senb, one of the contemporary fifteenth-century sources of representatives of the Keftians (so called by Rekhmire'), it is evident that the scribe had got muddled up between the pictures of the Semitic tribute-bearers and the Minoan[1] carrying the big bull-rhyton, the man described as 'prince of Keftiu' being a bearded, shorn-headed Syrian like him of Tunip, in the same picture. Now which is right, the scribe of Menkheperre'senb or Rekhmire''s? In view of the traditions connecting Philistia, Kaphtor, and the Aegean we can hardly suppose that Rekhmire' was wrong, and that Keftiu was really the Syrian (Phoenician) coast, as the Ptolemaic antiquaries supposed. If so, the Men of the Isles would have to be Phoenicians, and no Egyptian called, or would be likely to call, Phoenicians 'Men of the Isles'. Besides Rekhmire''s men of 'Keftiu and the Isles' are Minoans not Phoenicians (no Phoenicians ever looked like Minoans!), and Minoans

[1] To be illustrated in my forthcoming *Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*. Cf. *Cambr. Anc. Hist., Plates* i, p. 151 (a).

would naturally be called 'of the Isles', and if the Men of the Isles were Minoans, then the Keftians will have to be Minoans too, and not Phoenicians. So that it is Menkheperre'senb who is wrong, not Rekhmire'. The mistake is a typical Egyptian piece of carelessness.

But if we do not accept these explanations, and still maintain the existence of these 'Syro-Minoans' whom Mr. Wainwright postulates; and if we suppose that Keftiu was originally and properly the name of the Anatolian coast, and was only afterwards extended to Crete, it is obviously more natural to suppose that the Keftians and the Men of the Isles of Rekhmire''s tomb were Cretans than Cilicians, in view of the known ancient and direct connexion between Egypt and Crete. And the even more correctly garbed Minoans of the tomb of Sennemut, with their narrow Cretan waists and 'Vaphio cups', must certainly be Cretans. This Mr. Wainwright admits, but tries to explain away the other Vaphio cup, in the tomb of Menkheperre'senb (plate IV, *b*),—which he takes to show Cilician 'Keftians' only, not Cretan 'Men of the Isles',—as a foreign import into Keftiu, *i. e.* from Crete (p. 60); and the bull from the same tomb (plate IV, *b*), which is as Minoan as it can possibly be in its stance and whole effect, he compares with a bull from the Van district, to my mind totally different in attitude and style, which he illustrates in his pl. XIV, 8. The Minoan character of the Menkheperre'senb bull[1] was clearly recognizable even before the publication of Captain E. S. Churchill's bronze of the boy leaping over the bull,[2] which of course was not known to Mr. Wainwright or to anybody else in 1913. As a matter of fact plate IV *b* shows that in Menkheperre'senb's picture Minoans are shown (albeit their dress is not very accurately given) bringing typical Minoan as well as other gifts.

Mr. de Garis Davies has now published in the *Bulletin* of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (1926)

[1] Cf. W. M. Müller's publication, *Egyptological Researches*, ii (1910), pl. ix, p. 25.

[2] Evans, *J. H. S.* xli (1921), pp. 247 ff.

scenes from another Theban tomb (*temp.* Thutmasis III), that of User or Useramon, in which we see men of 'the Isles in the heart of the Great Green Sea' who are equally obviously Cretans. They bring gifts, among them another bull

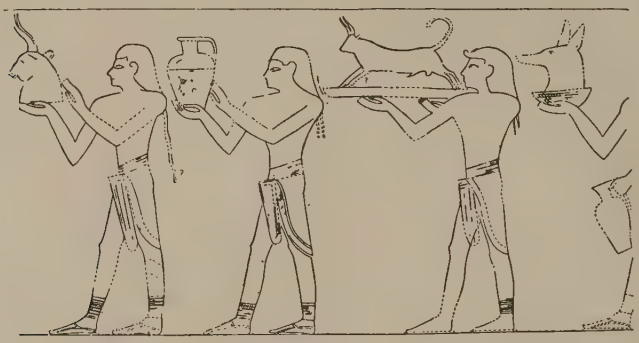


FIG. 2. Minoans bringing Minoan gifts: Tomb of Useramon, Thebes (*c.* 1470 B. C.).
(From the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum, 1926, N. Y., ii, p. 42.)

FIG. 3. Minoan bull-rhyton, 'Vaphio cup' and Rekhmire' shouldered vase, and copper ingots: Tomb of Useramon.
(From the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum, 1926, N. Y., ii, pp. 46, 48.)

just like Menkheperre'senb's (fig. 2), and a great Minoan bull protomé or rhyton (fig. 2) like those in Rekhmire''s (fig. 3) and Menkheperre'senb's tombs, besides a 'Vaphio' cup and a shouldered jug of typical Minoan forms (fig. 3). As Mr. Wainwright says, the animal protomé is as characteristically Syro-Anatolian as Minoan. Yes; but it *is* Minoan, that is the point; and if people wearing Minoan dress bring so very Minoan-looking a protomé as Menkheperre'senb's or

Rekhmire"s or Useramon's bull-head, the logical conclusion is that it is a Minoan, not a Syrian, protomé that is in question.[1] As for their dress, a detail in the costume of Useramon's men is significantly observed. This is the penis-sheath or 'codpiece', which, as Sir Arthur Evans has noted in his recent Huxley Lecture,[2] is a characteristic of the waist-clout of both Minoans and Libyans. We see it also in the costume of the men of Sennemut's (fig. 4) and Rekhmire"s (fig. 1) tombs, where it has not always been recognized,[3] and has been taken for a dagger-sheath or a quiver or for a clumsy attempt to show the kilt in perspective. Minoans transplanted to Cilicia would no doubt continue to wear their sheaths there, but I take it to be Mr. Wainwright's thesis that the Keftians (Rekhmire"s or others) were not pure Minoans; and that the Egyptian representations of Keftians that do not accentuate Minoan characteristics are correct pictures of these 'Syro-Minoans'. Now I have myself supposed[4] that

Fig. 4. Detail of dress of Minoan, from Sennemut's tomb (*c.* 1500 B. C.), showing the narrow waist and codpiece. (*B.S.A.*, x, p. 156, fig. 2.)

[1] Mr. Wainwright's remark (p. 52) that protomae are not brought by the 'undoubted Minoans' of Sennemut is not relevant, as he admits that protomae are just as much Aegean as Syrian, so that they cannot be regarded as brought only by 'Syro-Keftians'. And we do not know that such protomae were not represented in the destroyed portions of Sennemut's fresco.

[2] *The Early Nilotic, Libyan, and Egyptian Relations with Minoan Crete*: Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1925 (London, R. Anthrop. Inst.).

[3] *E. g.* Müller, *loc. cit.* i (1906), p. 18, n. 1. Cf. *B.S.A. Ann.* x. (1904), p. 157.

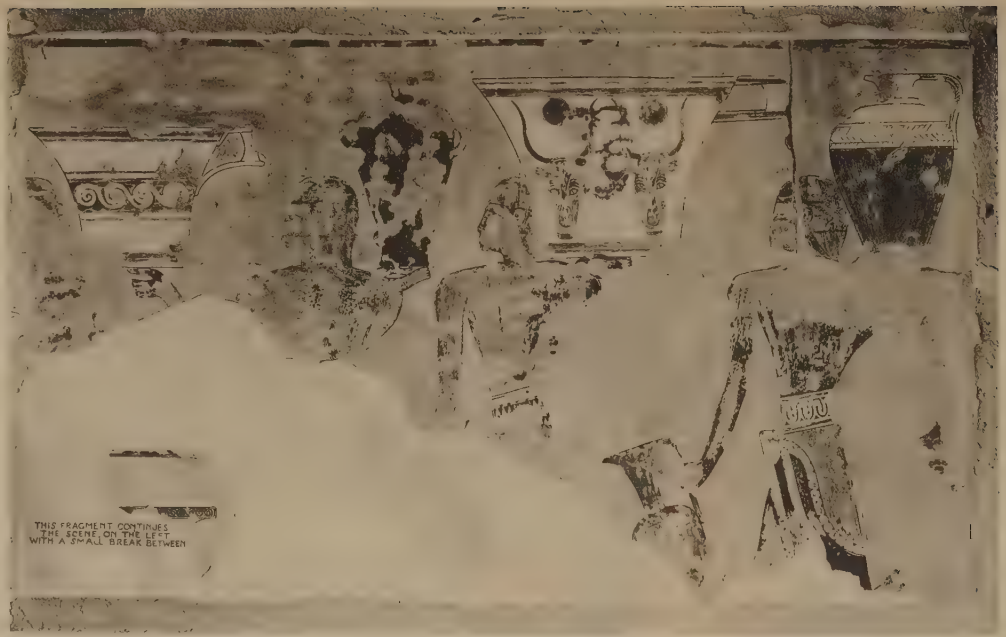
[4] *Journ. Manchester Oriental Society*, 1913, 'The Land of Alashiya'.

in Cilicia there may at that time have existed a 'Mischkunst' owing much to Minoan influence on the one hand and much to Syrian on the other, and I have seen works of this hypothetical semi-Minoan art in the ivory mirror-handles found at Enkomi, with their carvings that look almost as much Syrian as Minoan in their inspiration. Much, however, that then seemed Syrian-looking takes its place now as good late Minoan (L. M. III) style. But there are still elements in these carvings that are not Minoan, and if they are, as I supposed, products of a Cilician (?) mixed art, the only representation among them of a man hardly bears out Mr. Wainwright's contentions, for he does not look in the least like Mr. Wainwright's pseudo-Minoan Keftians from Cilicia (whom I think to be merely badly conceived Cretans), but is like a Philistine or Shardana, as indeed he might naturally be expected to be, if he comes from the Asia Minor coast. I refer to the 'Arimaspian' fighting the griffin.[1] He wears the characteristic laminated body-armour of the Shardana and Philistines, unknown to the Minoans and unrepresented in the Egyptian pictures of Keftians, but shown on the Egyptian monuments of Rameses III, the Shardana round helmet or cap, and the short hair or shaven head of the same people and the Philistines, the exact opposite of Minoan fashion.

Mr. Wainwright would presumably admit that there is something Minoan and Cretan about his Keftians. But there is nothing Minoan about this Arimasp, nor is there about the Shardana or the Philistines.

The question of the date of a possible Minoan settlement in Cilicia is pertinent to our inquiry. The Cyprian settlement at Enkomi is not demonstrably older than the beginning of L. M. III *a*. There is very little of the L. M. I or II periods to be found there, and the oldest Egyptian objects are, like those at Ialysos, of the reign of Amenhotep III (*c.* 1412–1376 B. C.). We can hardly suppose

[1] Murray, Smith, and Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, pl. ii.



III. MINOAN CRETAN AMBASSADORS TO THE COURT OF HATSHEPSUT AND THUTMOSIS III

From the wall-painting on the tomb of Sennemut at Thebes (*c.* 1480 B. C.)

By permission of Dr. A. H. Gardiner, from the facsimile reproduction by Mrs. N. de G. Davies

IV *a*. Minoans in the Tomb of Menkheperre'senb at Thebes, *c.* 1440 B. C.

IV *b*. Minoans in the Tomb of Menkheperre'senb, *c.* 1440 B. C., carrying a golden bull, a gold and silver 'Vaphio' cup, and a silver 'filler', all of Minoan type

By permission of Dr. A. H. Gardiner, from the facsimile reproductions by Mrs. N. de G. Davies

that the Cyprian colony arrived from Rhodes and the mainland (it was of Mainland or Mycenaean, not Cretan, origin, probably) before about 1425 B. C. And have we any right to suppose an even earlier Cilician settlement? We shall see, perhaps, when we can dig in Cilicia; but at present it seems to me that we have no right to assume a Cilician Minoan colony so early as 1450–1440 (Menkheperre'senb and Rekhmire'), certainly not so early as 1500–1470 (Sennemut and Useramon), because the Egyptian painters sometimes confused Keftians with Asiatics somewhat, and mixed up their products with those of Syrians. This explanation of the contamination seems to me as probable as Mr. Wainwright's. The fact that although in Menkheperre'senb's tomb the dress of the Minoans is not so well observed as in that of Useramon, some of his men bear in procession Minoan objects almost exactly like those represented by Useramon, which are brought by men of 'the Isles in the midst of the Very Green', to my mind shows that Menkheperre'senb's men were also Men of the Isles rather than Syro-Keftians, if Mr. Wainwright's dichotomy is to be accepted. I in no way deny the *possibility* of the existence of 'Syro-Keftians' in Cilicia, which may have been included in the term Keftiu (= Kaphtor), but it is surely just as probable that all these Keftian representations of the fifteenth century B. C., the very time of the highest development of Cretan civilization, art, and power, are, whether good or bad, pictures of Minoan Cretans and not of hypothetical Cilician semi-Minoans, and that Keftiu means then, and had for a thousand years meant, *primarily* Crete. Rekhmire''s ambassadors were 'Great Men of Crete and of the Aegean Isles'.

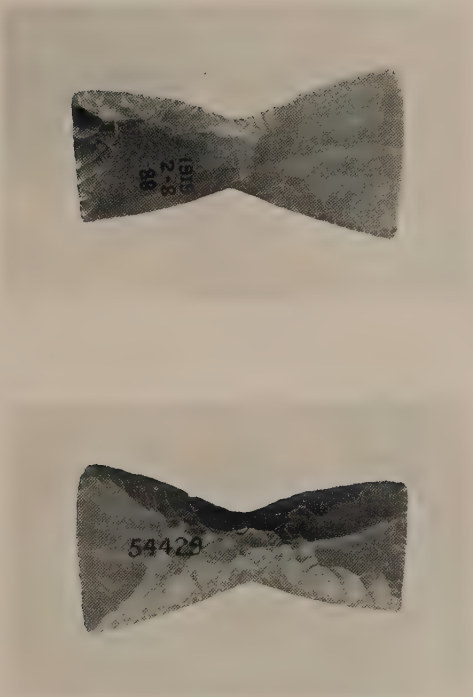
H. R. Hall

A PRE-DYNASTIC EGYPTIAN DOUBLE-AXE

(Plate v.)

THE small object of well-chipped brown flint here (plate v) illustrated (Brit. Mus., no. 54429), was bought for the British Museum at Luxor several years ago. There is no doubt that it is of Upper Egyptian origin, or, of course, of its date. And it would seem to be a model or votive double-axe. That the double-axe was known to Lower Egyptian cults was pointed out by Newberry (*Liverpool Annals*, i. 27 ff.). This little pre-dynastic Egyptian double-axe is very interesting in this connexion. On one side it is more or less flat, on the other, convex, with fine chipping in the centre and at the edges.

H. R. Hall



V. A pre-dynastic Egyptian double-axe amulet of flint (actual size)

CRETAN COINS FROM THE SEAGER COLLECTION

(PLATE VI: Arabic numerals refer to the plate.)

BY the terms of his will, the late Richard Berry Seager bequeathed to the British Museum his collection of ancient Greek and Roman coins. The greater proportion of this collection consists of Cretan issues. It seems not inappropriate to the present occasion, when honour is being done to the distinguished archaeologist in whose affections, it may be guessed, Greek coins take second place only to Minoan antiquities, that an account should be rendered of some of the more interesting pieces from the cabinet of his late friend and colleague in Cretan exploration. The coins are all illustrated in the accompanying plate VI.

ARCADIA

1. *Obv.* Head of Zeus Ammon, r., bearded, with ram's horn.
   Rev. APKA on r. downwards, ΔΩN on l. upwards. Athena standing to front, facing, r. resting on spear, l. on shield. Concave field.
   Æ ↓ Diam. 23 mm. Wt. 10·64 gm.

This was bought by Mr. Seager at Frati in Crete. It is, I believe, the only specimen of the stater hitherto recorded; the corresponding drachms are common. Mr. Seager also possessed two bronze coins with the same types, hitherto not known in that metal. On the drachms, and probably on the bronze coins, Athena's head is in profile; on the stater it is facing.

The appearance of Ammon on these coins is probably due to Cyrenaic influence. Cretan coins (though not these in particular) occasionally reflect the style of Cyrenaic, as in the head of Zeus at Polyrhenium (Svoronos, pl. xxv. 21–3); and the connexion between Cyrenaica and Crete

was at all times close. According to one mythologist, Ammon married Krete (Cook, *Zeus*, i, p. 376, note 1).

CHERSONESUS

2. *Obv.* Female head (Artemis or Britomartis) r., wreathed with laurel, hair tied in knot at back and flowing on neck; ear-ring and necklace. Border of dots.

Rev. XEPΣONAΣ[I ON] Apollo, nude, seated r. on omphalos, l. supporting six-stringed kithara on his knee, r. lowered holding plektron. In the field, r., a small thymiaterion. Concave field.

Æ ← Diam. 23 mm. Wt. 11·15 gm.

This stater was formerly in the Carfrae (lot 179), Rothschild ('Late Collector', 1900, lot 299), and Sherman Benson (lot 592) Collections.

Svoronos, in the description of the varieties of this stater (p. 50, nos. 8 to 16), has fallen into such hopeless confusion [1] that it seems worth while to try to straighten it out, so far as can be done with the materials at my disposal, and without making a special collection of casts. I can recognize the following varieties:

i. *Obv.* die A. Fine style; die easily recognized by the crack proceeding from the crown of the head to beyond the border.

His pl. III. 24 rev. is presumably from the Naples coin (his no. 8), his III. 25 rev. is presumably the Bompois specimen of his no. 9. The obv. placed between them, as common to 24 and 25, is the London specimen of his no. 8 (*B. M. C.* i, pl. IV. 1). His III. 26 is the Vienna specimen of his no. 10; but the reference there given to *Num. Chr.* 1884, pl. III. 12, belongs to the London specimen of his no. 11 (*B. M. C.*, no. 2). His no. 12 (Mionnet, ii, 265. 48) is not a real variety, but is from the same die as A/a in my classification, and should have gone under no. 8, if anywhere. Of no. 13 I cannot judge. His no. 14 (Mionnet, Suppl. iv, pl. VIII. 1=ii. 264. 49) is from the same dies as *B. M. C.*, no. 2, and should therefore be under no. 11. Of those under no. 15, the Hunter specimen is from the same dies as the Vienna specimen (no. 10). The Paris specimen of his no. 16 (Mionnet, ii. 264. 46) is a variety of which the only other specimen I have traced is Hirsch, xiii. 2914 (see my classification, A/a^2).

Rev. die a. Inscription ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙ on l., Ο Ν above the lyre.

Specimens: British Museum, no. 1 (ex R. Payne Knight); the Seager specimen just described (pl. VI. 2); Berlin, two specimens; Cambridge (Leake, *Ins.*, p. 8); Paris, Mionnet, ii. 265. 48 (with countermark on obv., Svor. no. 12); Jameson Catal., no. 1316 (from Hirsch Auctions, xi. 279 and xiii. 2913); Naville, Lucerne Sale, x, no. 613.

ii. *Obv.* die A.

Rev. die a^2. ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣ on l., ΙΟΝ on r.

Specimens: Paris, Mionnet, ii. 264. 46; Hirsch, xiii. 2914 = xxv. 1459 = Hess, 18–19 Mar. 1918, 618.

iii. *Obv.* die A.

Rev. die a^3. ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙ on l., Ο above lyre, Ν on r.

Specimen: Naples 7609, according to Svoronos, no. 8, pl. III. 24.

iv. *Obv.* die A.

Rev. die a^4. ΧΕΡΟΝΑΣΙΟ on l., Ν on r.

Specimens: Berlin, two (including that from Bompois, Svoronos, pl. III. 25); Cambridge, McClean (two specimens, 7046, 7047).

v. *Obv.* die B. Loose style; fillet confining topknot not visible, so that the topknot appears loose from the head; small crack proceeding to l. from back end of laurel-wreath.

Rev. die a^4. ΧΕΡΟΝΑΣΙΟ on l., Ν on r.

Specimens: Seager, two specimens, one of which is pl. VI. 3, wt. 10·76 gm.; Paris, Mionnet, ii. 264. 47; Hirsch, xxx. 544.

vi. *Obv.* die C. Smaller head, in inferior, tighter style.

Rev. die c. ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑ on l., ΣΙ above, ΟΝ on r.

Specimens: Glasgow, Hunterian Coll. (Macdonald, pl. XL. 19); Paris; Vienna (Svor., pl. III. 26; Regling, *Münze als Kunstwerk*, 781).

vii. *Obv.* die C.

Rev. die c^2. ΧΕΡΣΟΝ on l., ΑΣ above, ΙΟΝ on r. No thymiaterion.

Specimens: London (*B.M.C.*, no. 2); Berlin; Paris (Mionnet, ii. 264. 49; Suppl. iv, pl. VIII. 1).

It will be observed that three obverse dies served six reverses; further, that there seems to be a deliberate differentiation of the reverses by dividing the inscription in different ways. So methodical an arrangement points to an organization of the mint more elaborate than one would suspect from the otherwise casual work of the Cretan monetary authorities.

It is curious that Wroth (*Num. Chr.* 1884, p. 17), in speaking of the adoption by Chersonesus of Stymphalian types (head of Artemis, and Heracles attacking the Stymphalian birds), should have said that the head of the Stymphalian Artemis is more successfully copied on coins of the group we have been studying; also that he should have picked out for illustration what appears to me to be the latest of the versions (die C). The Artemis–Britomartis of the Apollo series is independent of the Stymphalian head, which is marked by the peculiar five-drop ear-ring. This ear-ring is characteristic of Peloponnesian coins, *e.g.* the fine staters of the Achaean League (Regling, *Mze. als Kstwk.* 672) and of Pheneus (*ibid.* 664). It is also found at Opuntian Locris (*ibid.* 682). In Crete Neuantos uses it at Cydonia (*ibid.* 665), and a degraded form of it is found at Knossos (*ibid.* 654), Aptera (Svor., pl. I. 7–10), and Tylisus (Svor., pl. XXXI. 7).

CYDONIA

4. *Obv.* Beardless head r., wreathed. Two chisel-cuts.
   Rev. Tripod; on l. K, on r. Y.
   Æ ↓ 28 mm. Wt. 10·61 gm. Bought of Petrodas in Crete, 1923.

This very rude coin seems to be from the same dies as the only other recorded specimen, from the Rhousopoulos collection (Svoronos, pl. IX. 1; Hirsch, xiii. 2939).[1] It is

[1] Col. Cameron informs me that he possesses another; it appears to be from slightly different dies on both sides, but these coins are so badly struck that it is difficult to be certain.

attributed by Svoronos to Cydonia, since the Rhousopoulos specimen undoubtedly reads KY. In style—if the word can be used at all in this question—the piece rather recalls the coins of Axus, to which the types are also suited. The only coin with a tripod which Svoronos can adduce in connexion with Cydonia is uninscribed, and is as a matter of fact given by him not to Cydonia but to Tanos. One would prefer, then, to find some place beginning with 'Ky . . .' which might have been more likely to copy the coins of Axus than the distant—and much more important—Cydonia. I can find nothing of this kind to suggest except the not very important place Cytaeum, on the coast somewhere north-east of Axus. While not pressing this suggestion, I feel very doubtful of the attribution to Cydonia.

The stater with Axian types issued by a city whose name began with 'A' (Svoronos, pl. 1. 3) is in the same category with our 'Ky . . .' stater. It has been attributed to Apollonia, which was close to Cytaeum.

ELEUTHERNAE

5. *Obv.* Head of Apollo r., with flowing hair, bound with triple laurel-wreath. Pearled border.

Rev. ΕΛΕΥΘ ΕΡ on l. upwards, ΝΑΙΩΝ on r. upwards. Apollo, nude, with flowing hair, standing to front, head l.; holds in r. a round object, in l. a bow. Linear border; concave field.

Æ ↖ 25 mm. Wt. 9·47 gm. From the collection of Sir Arthur Evans.

The obverse of this rare coin is of a style very unusual at Eleuthernae; the nearest analogy to it is on another stater from the same reverse die in the Hirsch Sale, xxx. 547; but there the relief is flatter and more carelessly treated, and the laurel-wreath has the usual two rows of leaves. The exaggeration of the frontal ridge helps to give the head a portrait-like appearance, but is perhaps due merely to the artist's deficient technique.

For a discussion of the object held by Apollo, reference

should be made to A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, vol. ii, pp. 491–2, where to the many interpretations hitherto made is added the suggestion that it is a ball of resin from the storax-tree; Apollo here would then be Apollo Styrakites, named from Mt. Styrakion in Crete. The older interpretation as a stone seems preferable, since we do know that a stone was used as a weapon by Talos and the Minotaur; and if, on the early coin on which the new theory is based, Artemis is represented as a huntress, Apollo probably also appears in that capacity.

LYTTUS

6. *Obv.* Head of Zeus r., bearded, laureate; in front, thunderbolt?
Rev. Boar's head r. in linear border, in incuse square.
Lead → 26 mm. Wt. 17·08 gm.

The monotonous series of the eagle and boar's head types of Lyttus is broken, on the later bronze coins, by a barbarous uninscribed piece with the head of Zeus, the attribution of which, however, is quite conjectural (Svor., no. 86). The present leaden piece, of the acquisition of which Mr. Seager has left no note, anticipates this innovation; judging from its style, it can hardly be later than the fourth century. The reverse type leaves no doubt of its attribution to Lyttus. The obverse approaches the head on some of the staters of Eleuthernae (Svoronos, pl. xi. 26 ff.) more nearly than anything known to me on other Cretan coins, unless it is the Chersonesus stater (Naville, Lucerne Sale, xii. 1585) recently acquired by the British Museum.

In the present condition of the piece it is not possible to say whether the reverse was inscribed; but if, as (in view of the absence of specimens in silver) seems probable, this is merely a trial specimen, and the coin was never actually issued, it may have been struck 'before letters'.

Mr. Cook (*Zeus*, i, pp. 157, 652) plausibly explains the boar's head on the coins of Lyttus as a reference to the

obscure legend that Zeus was a prince who was slain by a wild boar.

If this is a trial-specimen, it is analogous to other lead coins which have come down to us, such as one in the Lycian series,[1] and another large piece of the fourth century attributed to Syracuse, differing in its types (head of Arethusa and Star) from the ordinary coinage.[2] A leaden coin of Queen Philistis in the British Museum seems to represent a denomination not known in any other metal. Its genuineness has been questioned. In its favour is the fact that the dimensions of the obverse type are perceptibly larger than on the ordinary large silver coins of Philistis, from one of which it might otherwise be suspected of being cast. It has been described as 'probably a proof of a medallion of 32 litrae', presumably because of its weight (given as 404·3 grains in the Catalogue, no. 538, but more accurately 401·1 grains = 25·99 grammes). But in making proofs in a base metal no attention is paid to weight. Its patination makes it impossible to say whether it is struck or cast. If it is cast from a struck silver coin, and the lead is pure, a calculation from the relative specific gravities of pure lead and hammered silver shows that the original silver coin must have weighed about 24·11 grammes. That is not far off the weight of 28 litrae (24·36 grammes). Impurity in the lead, or loss by wear, would account for the difference. But where the authenticity of the piece is not above suspicion, such considerations are little more than academic.

OLVS

7. *Obv.* Bust of Artemis–Britomartis l., wearing wreath and fillet; triple-drop ear-ring and necklace; shoulders draped; quiver at shoulder. Border of dots.

[1] *B. M. C., Lycia*, p. 283, pl. XLIII. 1. The leaden piece of Tanagra published by me in *Num. Chr.* 1917, p. 7, pl. I. 13, seems to be a modern forgery.

[2] Orsi in *Atti e Mem. dell' Istituto Ital. di Num.* iv. (1921), p. 41.

Rev. ΟΛΟΝΤΙΩΝ on r. downwards. Zeus Tallaios, nude to waist, seated l. on throne, l. resting on sceptre, r. holding eagle; in field l., monogram of ΚΑΠ. Concave field.

Æ ↑ 26 mm. Wt. 11·06 gm.

This stater is from the same dies as that illustrated by Svoronos, pl. XXII. 23, and as the much battered Weber specimen (no. 4540 = Naville, Auct. iv. 633). The stater already in the British Museum, no. 1 of the Catalogue, though it bears the same monogram, is of distinctly less fine style. The influence of the tetradrachm of Alexander the Great on the reverse of these staters is patent. Zeus may be identified as Tallaios from the second-century inscription, which mentions that he had a sanctuary at Olus.[1]

Mr. Robinson points out to me that the drachm of Knossos (Svor., pl. VI. 15) is not only in the same style as the stater of Olus, but is marked on the reverse by the same monogram, which therefore perhaps represents an engraver. The half-drachm (Svor., pl. VI. 16) seems to be also by the same hand.

Phaestvs or Gortyna

8. *Obv.* Europa seated sideways on bull advancing l. Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription obscure. Head of Hermes r., wearing close-fitting cap, with wing; in front, caduceus. Border of large dots, outside which, a herring-bone border. Incuse circle.

Æ 27 mm. Wt. 12·04 gm. Bought at Candia.

This baffling coin shows considerable remains of the inscription. Beginning in front of the lips of Hermes, and reading outwardly, we see (A. Then comes the caduceus, and then ΔΙ⋀ᴍᴍ⋀Ο Ιᴍ W. There may have been more, where I have left spaces; on the other hand, I may have

[1] Cook, *Zeus*, i, p. 729.

taken accidental lines for parts of letters. Possibly the first two marks after the caduceus are connected with the front edge of the cap. Omitting these we should get (A ~ · ~O; the confused signs between the two recumbent ~ may have been meant for MT. This would give us ΦΑΙΣΤΙΟ. For the remaining signs I can make no suggestion; and the whole remains a puzzle. The type of Hermes at first inclined me to attribute the coin to Gortyna in view of Major Cameron's inscribed stater with similar types.[1] But there is little in such an argument, since Gortyna and Phaestus had so much in common, and there is evidence for the cult of Hermes at both places.[2] Colonel Cameron reminds me that it has been suggested that coins with Europa riding to left are of Phaestus, those where she goes to the right of Gortyna. I fear the problem is not so simple.

The coin is re-struck on an older one, and, in sceptical mood, it may seem that the coin is really uninscribed, and the supposed remains of letters illusory. On the obverse, below the bull, are very faintly visible three groups of four pellets each, which might be the berries of a wreath such as surrounds the bull on other staters of Phaestus (Svoronos, pl. xxiv. 2). But those coins are hardly older than our stater. The signs of an older type are more numerous on the reverse (especially in front of the head of Hermes), but I cannot connect them with anything.

The curious herring-bone-like wreath border is very faintly indicated. Possibly it was a first idea which was not approved, and the border of large and clumsy dots was added, with the object of obscuring it. Double-striking of this border has produced the scalloped pattern round its interior edge.

9. *Obv.* Young male head r., wearing wreath with berries in front. Border of dots.

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1913, p. 383, no. 7, pl. xv. 11.

[2] Cook, *Zeus*, i, p. 661 (Phaestus); ii, p. 723 (Gortyna).

Rev. Φ AIΣ TION beginning above. Bull standing r., head reverted.

Æ ↓ 23 mm. Wt. 11·16 gm. Bought at Candia 1924.

The same obverse die was used later for the stater at Vienna (Svoronos, pl. XXIV. 1), which reads ΦAIΣTIΩN (differently arranged) and has an exergual line. Otherwise this reverse is an extraordinarily close reproduction of the earlier one; even to the flaw, if such it is, beneath the body of the bull. A third reverse attached to the same obverse is seen in the Hunterian stater (Macdonald, pl. XLII. 16; Svoronos, Προσθῆκαι, pl. 13. 1), which bears no inscription, and on which the bull's head is not reverted.

10. *Obv.* Heracles r., seen from front, lion-skin over l. arm, attacking hydra, of which he clutches one neck with his l., while he wields his club in his r. In countermark, bull's head facing, with fillets pendent from horns.

Rev. [Ω]ITΞIAΦ above. Bull r., l. foreleg raised, head in three-quarters position.

Æ ↑ 26 mm. Wt. 11·24 gm. Bought at Candia.

The countermark must be of Polyrhenium, the facing bull's head with fillets pendent from the horns being the characteristic type of that mint.

This stater is from the same dies as the Carfrae-Montagu specimen now in the British Museum (Montagu Sale, i. 445); it also shares the obverse die of the stater illustrated by Svoronos as in the Marciana (pl. XXIV. 17).

PHAESTVS

11. *Obv.* Female head r., the hair twined in thick coils round a fillet; plain ear-ring.

Rev. Forepart of bull r.; the head nearly facing. Incuse circle.

Æ ↓ 30 mm. Wt. 10·83 gm.

From the same dies on both sides as the Hunterian and Weber specimens,[1] and from the same rev. die as the

[1] Macdonald, pl. XLII. 12; Forrer, no. 4547.

Phaestian stater with Talos and his dog.[1] The interest of this specimen lies in the clear remains of the reverse type of the Knossian stater over which it was struck, the swastika-labyrinth with four sinkings in the corners, each containing a pellet. This reverse type at Knossos is found on two groups of coins, an earlier with the obverse type Minotaur, a later with the head of the nymph. But it is only on the Minotaur coins that the pellet is found in the square sinkings. One of these earlier staters must therefore have been used as a blank for our coin.

SYBRITA

12. *Obv.* Hermes, bearded, nude, seated three-quarters r. on rock, looking r., l. resting on long caduceus, r. on rock. Linear border (beyond which the head of the caduceus projects).

Rev. ϒΘϽ ΤϽ ϥΠVΜ beginning on r., above. Winged hippocamp r. All in incuse square.

Æ ← 26 mm. Wt. 11·81 gm. Bought at Athens.

The coin is of unusual interest. In the first place it is earlier than any other issue of the mint hitherto published, and brings the beginning of the coinage well into the fifth century B. C. In the second place it gives us an older and hitherto unknown form of the name, with a *π* instead of a *β*, and written in the older alphabet. The later form, authenticated by coins and inscriptions, is *Σύβριτα*; the form *Σίβυρτος* in Stephanus Byzantinus is perhaps due to the influence of the Attic name *Σιβύρτιος*. In connexion with the *π*-form, it may be more than a coincidence that *Σιπροίτης*, according to Antoninus Liberalis, was the name of a Cretan youth who was seen by Artemis while she was bathing and was turned into a woman.

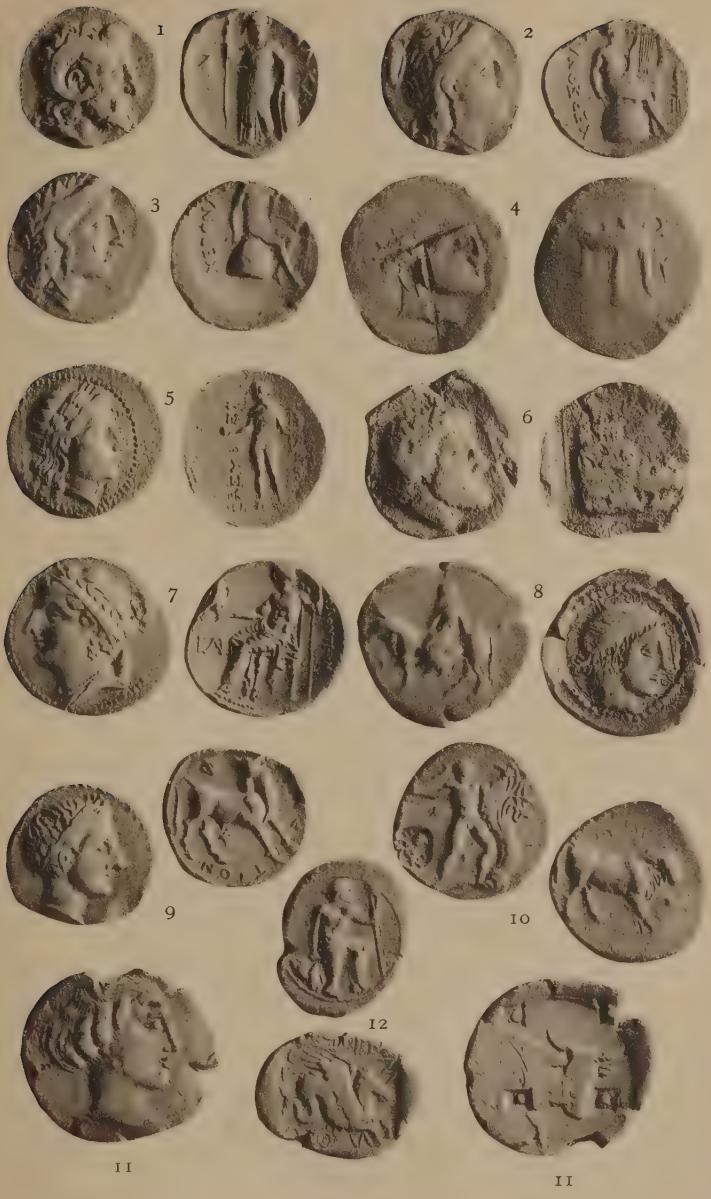
The attempt at the foreshortening of the right leg of Hermes is characteristically Cretan; there are more such attempts on the Cretan coinage than on all other Greek coins together.

[1] Svoronos, pl. XXIII. 3; *Num. Chron.* 1919, pl. II. 6.

The appearance of the hippocamp on a coin of a city lying in the heart of the Cretan highlands is significant. Svoronos (p. 313 f.) thinks that Sybrita must have possessed a port, and mentions that modern geographers consider that all the territory lying between the city and the south coast must have belonged to it. It may, he says, have had a port at Soulia or Soulena, which may have been near the mouth of the Electra.[1] His doubt, caused by the fact that of the coins known to him, excepting a bronze coin of which the attribution to Sybrita is doubtful, none carries any maritime allusion, would have been removed by Mr. Seager's stater. We know nothing of the history of Sybrita before the Hellenistic age; but we may well believe that the issue of its first coins coincided with its rise to commercial importance, and that, in its turn, was not unconnected with the acquisition of a port. We may, in any case, date the coin, by its style, about 425 B. C.

G. F. Hill

[1] The stream on the head-waters of which Sybrita was situated is identified more generally, as by Kiepert (*Formae*), with the Kedrios (Kedrisos?).



VI. CRETAN COINS FROM THE SEAGER BEQUEST

AEGEAN SEPULCHRAL FIGURINES

THANKS to Sir Arthur Evans, the Ashmolean Museum is rich in sepulchral figurines from the Aegean area and neighbouring regions—in particular from the Cyclades, where, between 1893 and 1900, he procured the most representative set of various types that exists outside Athens. The chief source was Amorgos; but Paros and Naxos contributed, and similar types were added from East Crete and the Greek mainland. To compare with its Aegean types the Museum has figurines from (among other sources) Naqada in Upper Egypt and South Anatolia.

Since the attention of archaeologists and anthropologists was called to Aegean figurines in the eighties of the last century,[1] there has appeared little criticism of the view that the female types, which constitute quite ninety-five per cent. of the whole class, were intended for idols of a nature goddess, whose cult is presumed, on various grounds, to have prevailed in the prehistoric Aegean world and to have been chthonic; or, further, of the view that their association with the dead served a religious purpose of an apotropaeic or psychopompic kind. Koehler (*l. c.*) seems to have felt some difficulty in reconciling these views with the presence of figurines of a harper and a pipe-player in an Amorgan tomb, and with the male figurines found among burial-furniture in Keros and Santorin; but he disposed of the difficulty by assuming that these were intended for ministrants of the cult of the Oriental goddess.[2] But no one before Mosso[3] seems to have been checked by what has always

[1] e. g. by Koehler (*Ath. Mitth.* ix, 1884. p. 159 and pl. vi), and by Dümmler (*ibid.* xi, 1886, pp. 239 ff.).

[2] Compare also Dussaud, *Les Civ. Préhelleniques*, p. 363.

[3] *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation* (Engl. trans. of *Origini della Civ. Mediterranea*), p. 149. Evans, in *Palace of Minos*, i, pp. 45 ff. (his is by

seemed to me the more serious objection, viz. the not infrequent occurrence, with burials of the same area and period, of a fat female type of figurine, on which the sex-organ is not indicated, all emphasis being laid on the lumbar region and thighs. The breasts of such types, even when most fully represented, are not of abnormal proportions (plate VII, *a* and *b*). Mosso, however, having looked his difficulty in the face, passed on with the reflection that probably the two types of female figurine, fat and normal, corresponded 'to two diverse ideas of the Mother Goddess representing Nature'. But, granted that the ideas and motives of man before history, whether in the Cyclades or anywhere else, are not known for certain, and that all confident generalizations about them range from accepted lies up to plausible conjectures, is that explanation of Mosso's even plausible? Are there likely to have been in one primitive society at one moment two diverse 'ideas' of a Mother Goddess? Or, while one of these expressed itself by emphasis on the sex-organ (which, in fact, is by no means always marked in examples even of the lean type), why did the other emphasize only other parts of the body which have no particular connexion with generative functions? In fact, a view which plausibly might explain figurines of 'normal' type, which obtrude the sex-organ (plate VIII, *a*, *b*, *c*), and not be disturbed seriously either by the rest of the 'normal' female types on which that organ is not so marked, or by the summary 'short-hand' types, violin-shaped, pear-shaped (plate IX, *a*, *b*), &c., which appear in similar connexions both early and late during the Early Minoan Age,[1] seems to me in no way to

far the best comparative study of this class of figurines) seems undisturbed by the dualism of types, thinking evidently that the adipose figures represent equally the goddess, but under a form which happened to appeal to certain worshippers. This is a quite reasonable view which I deal with below on p. 59.

[1] I suggest that examples which show very short perpendicular stumps springing from protuberant loins are transitional between the squatting types and the standing types, and partake of the convention applied to the

explain the fat, or so-called 'steatopygous', types. Yet, seeing that these have been found in like relation to corpses and even side by side with 'normal' types in one grave, some explanation is called for; and it must be one which will cover both main types of figurine and make their coincident presence intelligible.

Not forgetting that the ideas of prehistoric man, who four thousand years ago lived in the Aegean area, can only be guessed, I venture to assert that no guess is more probable than that his practice of burying figurines in graves was inspired by the same idea which prompted the burial of Egyptian *ushabti* figures. Like these, the Aegean figurines of whatever sort, female or male, were expected to come to life in the Beyond, to swell to their natural size, to take on all features and functions of the natural body (whether facilities for these were indicated expressly on the simulacrum or not), and in some way or ways to serve the dead person when he or she entered on another life. Those Amorgos musicians were no toys; and it is very improbable that they were symbols. As surely as anything can be predicated of the remains of a prehistoric culture, they were to come to life and harp or blow for the benefit of the person with whom they had been enclosed in the grave. They are exactly paralleled, of course, by numerous musician-figurines from Egyptian tombs, for example, by such groups as were found frequently at Sakkara. They were, in fact, to all intents and purposes, *ushabtis*.

Male types of figurine, however, have been found but rarely in Aegean graves, and a considerable proportion of the few recorded examples are of uncertain sex. Mosso states that he is aware of only one male figurine on which the sex-organ is expressed;[1] and I cannot quote another. The summary treatment of such figurines seldom or never

former. The apparent protuberance of their buttocks or hips, therefore, is not to be interpreted as steatopygy.

[1] *l. c.*, p. 168: from Hagia Triada.

allows of intelligible expression of other masculine indications, e. g. face hair. Six, for example, found in the great tholus of Hagia Triada, which are claimed for males on the score of pointed featureless faces,[1] are very doubtfully to be regarded as bearded, seeing that they are finished off at the abdomen in similarly pointed fashion. This feature may be throughout a 'short-hand' convention.

In any case the few male funerary figurines are to be explained as *ushabtis*. Is it not, then, at least plausible to explain as such also the numerous female figurines? And if such they were, can one doubt, where a primitive Near Eastern society is in question, that their service to their dead masters was conceived as primarily sexual (though this use would not exclude other daily services that, in life, a concubine may be called on to render to her man)? Such a theory encounters no difficulty with the normal types of feminine figurine or, for reasons stated above, with any summary expression or reduction of those types. Since, however, all those, as said already, could be explained readily enough on the goddess theory, the onus of supporting one theory rather than the other will fall on the rarer fat types. If these do not obviously suggest goddesses, is there any particular reason why they should be interpreted as παλλακίδες? There is, in fact, such reason based on an intersexual practice, more common both in antiquity and to-day, and certainly more commonly avowed, among southern peoples than among northern—the practice which was indicated by one of the meanings of the Greek word πύγισμα.[2] It underlies that preference for fat women in the Near East, to which more than one writer on these figurines,

[1] *l. c.*, p. 163.

[2] The literary sense is paederastic; but it is well known that the noun and its verb were vulgarly applied also to intersexual intercourse (cp. the use of the verb in a charm, published by C. C. Edgar in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alexandrie*, xxi, which was procured by a man in order to keep a lady, in his absence, pure from certain specified contaminations).

who believes them to represent goddesses, has made allusion.[1]

Whether any of these Aegean figurines are properly to be called 'steatopygous' would be an academic question, were it not that far-reaching theories of prehistoric racial distribution and movement have been based on the assumption that their particular adiposities are those peculiar now to certain South African peoples. The steatopygy of the latter goes with a concomitant enlargement of another part, the *labia minora*. This feature, however, cannot be expected to be represented on small figurines of, at best, summary execution, whose posture usually precluded the coroplast from showing the part in question as it is in nature. The question of their steatopygy has to be judged, therefore, by their lumbar development alone. The lumbar development of no Aegean example of this class can be said to have been intended to be as definitely abnormal as that of a Hottentot or Bushman woman. Sir Arthur Evans says[2] of certain neolithic specimens found at Knossos, that they show 'an extraordinary development of the rump, which is often even more prominent than that of modern Bushman women'. But his specimens are all, to my mind, intended to be in squatting posture, indicated, owing either to the coroplast's unhandiness or to his use of 'short-hand' conventions, by a protuberance below the trunk representing not only loins but legs, which are doubled up in one of two postures, *i.e.* with knees either drawn upwards in front or bent under. In any case a squatting seat on the haunches normally throws out the buttocks (plate IX, *a*, cp. plate VII, *a*) and spreads the soft tissue of the thighs, so that these parts seem disproportionately large—an observation which, in my

[1] *e.g.* Evans (*Palace of Minos*, i, p. 45): 'This exaggeration . . . may be partly due to very widespread primitive notions as to the adipose character of feminine beauty.' Cp. also Mosso, *l. c.*, p. 154.

[2] *l. c.*, p. 45.

opinion, disposes of the supposed steatopygy of certain other more naturalistic types, *e. g.* fat Aegean types in which crossed legs are plainly shown (plate VII, *a*, *b*) or the Malta and the Naqada figurines, of which the latter show no very great exaggeration of the forms of a later well-known Egyptian class of kneeling women.[1] The sideways position of their knees and lower legs, when squatting, is, however, a noticeable difference (plate X, *a*, *b*).

Were steatopygy really intended in any Aegean figurines or not, my theory of the sexual destiny of all fat figurines would distinctly discourage the attribution of racial significance to their lumbar forms. For it offers an intelligible reason for occasional special selection of unusually obese feminine types. Fat women of large lumbar development are to be met with anywhere and everywhere among normally developed populations. It would be easy to find a 'Venus of Brassempouy' or the fattest Sesklos type[2] among women of almost any race, and still easier to produce a Queen of Punt from most negro communities. Compare an Egyptian or Syrian figurine in the Ashmolean (plate X, *c*) which is obviously that of just an excessively fat woman, not steatopygous. Moreover, on the assumption that my theory of the purpose of such figurines is well founded, what can be conceived more likely than that coroplasts should somewhat have exaggerated their lumbar forms in order to provide a dead man with enhanced gratification in the Beyond?

I suggest, then, that all these feminine funerary figurines of the Aegean area were intended to be human and to serve this or that sexual appetite of the dead. They were,

[1] The 'characteristic lumbar curve', which Petrie recognized (*Naqada and Ballas*, p. 34), is, I confess, not convincing to me. I should like to hear an expert in South African physical anthropology.

[2] The Brassempouy figure, judged by a cast, represents merely a fat woman: so does the Sesklos type shown in Tsountas' Προιστ. Ἀκροπ. Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου, pl. 32, nos. 2, 3, 6.

of course, agents of magic, but not in any other sense cult-objects.

The distribution of the types that have been in question in this article is worth remark; for it is to the *south* of the Aegean area and of Anatolia that they seem properly to belong. Except in south-east Thessaly, they here occurred only very rarely and sporadically north of the Cyclades. The Maltese and Egyptian figurines, though distantly related, do not belong to their group, whose home lies in the southern Cyclades, Crete, and south-western Asia Minor. This being so, it is worth while to suggest that they illustrate the early range of a Caro-Lelegian culture. I have long suspected that one of the original nurseries of this was Crete—in fact, that the old view of Koehler and Dümmler had much more truth in it than has been credited, the 'Minoans' and their civilization having been no more and no less than proto-Carian. On this supposition the statement, recorded by Herodotus, that the Carians were among the greatest of ancient people, fell appropriately enough from Cretan lips. Sir Arthur Evans, in his Huxley Lecture (his most recent pronouncement), spoke thus of a south-west Anatolian element in the Minoan society:

> 'The indigenous pre-Hellenic language, mainly preserved in names of persons and places, belongs to the same family as that of the old Carians and their kin. . . . The names of both Minos and Knossos, to take significant examples, recur in the Cilician coast region: Karnessos, the earlier appellation of Lyttos, the model Dorian city of the later Greek colonists, has the same element as Halikarnassos, &c.'

My suggestion only carries an implication of this argument to a further conclusion. If the old Knossian population were Carian, one could understand how Minos, its thirteenth-century Achaean conqueror, came to use in his galleys Carian subjects in order to expel Carians from the islands. Two statements, in fact, not easily to be reconciled

on any other supposition, would be seen to be equally true. Minos was master of some Carians and foe to others.

I must leave the suggestion there until that all but virgin field, the prehistoric stratum of some south-west Anatolian site, shall have been explored. We know hardly anything about such a stratum at present except that it is likely to show a 'Cycladic' type of culture below a 'Late Minoan'; but what, if anything, will be found below the 'Cycladic' again, cannot be guessed. The Carians maintained that they were autochthonous in south-west Anatolia. If so, their culture there may have developed differently from its evolution in western seats of their race. There may, for example, have been from early time two different script systems in use by Carians of the east and of the west. The 'Carian' inscriptions, found to date, help not at all either to disprove or to prove a connexion with Crete; nor will they serve any such purpose till longer examples of earlier date come to light. Nor again do the few and sporadic 'Late Minoan' things found on the Carian coast supply any valid argument for or against. We can only wait and see.

D. G. Hogarth

(*a*) FAT TYPE OF SQUATTING FEMALE

In private possession

(*b*) FAT TYPE OF SQUATTING FEMALE

Ashmolean Museum (*Amorgos*)

VII

(*a*) Amorgos.

(*b*) Amorgos.

(*c*) Patesia, Attica

LEAN TYPES OF STANDING FEMALES

Ashmolean Museum

VIII

(*a*) Paros. (*b*) Amorgos

REDUCED TYPES OF 'VIOLIN' FORM

Ashmolean Museum

(*c*) FAT FEMALE SQUATTING TYPE

BACK VIEW

In private possession

a

SQUATTING FEMALE TYPE IN CLAY

Naqada, Upper Egypt

Ashmolean Museum

b

THE SAME, SHOWN FROM BELOW
WITH LEGS DOUBLED UNDER

c

FIGURINE IN POLISHED RED WARE

From Abydos, Egypt

Ashmolean Museum

X

THE 'SWIMMERS' DAGGER FROM THE THOLOS TOMB AT VAPHIO

(Plate XI.)

THE subject of the following pages came to my notice through a work that I have been preparing but have not yet published on representations of the sea in ancient art. This work, which aims at setting forth the various ways in which ancient works of art show water, led me to the study of some bronze fragments with scenes inlaid in gold in the National Museum at Athens and of two gold fishes, all of which came from the Tholos tomb at Vaphio. I came to the conclusion that these might all of them have been parts of one picture of men and fish swimming in the sea, which once formed the decoration of a dagger.

The fragments are the following:

(Plate XI) No. 1. A small fish of gold leaf facing the spectator's right.

No. 5. Another similar fish facing the spectator's left.

No. 5[a]. A small gold fragment of a wing.

No. 2. A fragment of bronze with the upper part of a human figure inlaid in gold, lacking, however, the head, for which a separate piece of gold leaf was used. The left arm is extended from the elbow. In front of the figure at a lower level two pieces of gold wire are attached to the bronze, the upper one short, the lower longer and undulating. Above and in front of the figure are fastened two pieces of gold leaf, which together form a rhomboid with wavy outline. The right-hand piece is covered with small pin-pricks filled with *niello*.

No. 3. A fragment of bronze, narrower but longer than no. 2, with the lower half of a human figure executed in the same manner. Under it there are similar undulating gold wires, and just beyond the extremity of the lower (left) foot there is a crescent-shaped object in gold.

No. 4. A fragment of bronze, the smallest of the three, with the upper half of a youth's figure in a swimming attitude.

No. 6. A small fragment of gold with pin-pricks like the piece attached to no. 2.

No. 7. A man's leg in gold. The upper part of the thigh is missing, and to the extremity of the foot there still clings a piece of oxidized bronze.

Of these fragments Professor Tsountas, in his publication of the Vaphio tomb, mentions the 'two fishes cut out of gold foil, and two other smaller objects of similar foil. . . . These were probably affixed to some object of different material, for one of the smaller objects is still attached to a fragment of bronze'.[1] These two objects are those numbered 6 and 7.

The fishes were found with the other two fragments on the floor of the tholos.

The piece of gold wing and the bronze fragments nos. 2, 3, 4 are not described by Professor Tsountas in his publication, but we may consider it certain that they were found with what he does describe. The bronze pieces must have been shapeless lumps of corrosion then, and so escaped mention. Some time later, after the tomb had been published,[2] it appears that the Museum technical staff cleaned the pieces and brought the figures to light. And at the same time the piece of wing must have been cleared of the bronze corrosion in which it was embedded. If it had not been so embedded and hidden, Professor Tsountas would certainly have included it in his accurate and detailed description, since he mentions the other gold fragments which are smaller. I am the more persuaded that this was what happened from the fact recorded by Professor Tsountas that he did not note the exact position in which a small bronze dagger also ornamented with gold inlay was found,

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1889, p. 143. One of the fishes is illustrated Πιν. 7, 1.

[2] The tomb was excavated in 1888 and published in 1889.

because, with nothing to mark it in its envelope of corrosion, he took it for a piece of another object.[1]

Now none of the fragments described above looks as if it could have belonged to anything but a dagger of the well-known inlay technique. Most probably, to judge from the fish, each side of the blade was decorated with a marine scene, and as the posture of the surviving figures can best be interpreted as that of swimming, I have called it the 'swimmers' dagger.

First, as regards the fishes. They are the flying-fish,[2] a great favourite in Minoan art. This I had guessed from their close resemblance to the flying-fish on the famous Phylakopi fresco, but when the wing, no. 5[a] (the pectoral fin), was brought to my notice by the technical department of the Museum my guess became a certainty.

The flying-fish shown at A in plate XI is a restored copy in imitation gold and *niello*.[3]

In fig. 1, out of the many Mycenaean representations of flying-fish I have collected the three best for comparison, those in fact which bear most resemblance to the gold flying-fish of the dagger.

As regards the wings and the general formation of the body the Phylakopi fish shows the greatest resemblance,

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., *loc. cit.*, p. 146, Πιν. 7, 2.

[2] One of the species of *exocoeti*. The general modern Greek name is χελιδονόψαρον.

[3] I have since discovered that these fragments were mentioned by Professor Bosanquet (*Phylakopi*, p. 72), but in an incomplete and indecisive way. His first supposition was that there had probably been deposited in the tomb at Vaphio an inlaid sword-blade ornamented with flying-fish. He mentions the piece of wing which led him to the supposition, and one of the fishes, which he saw in a *cul-de-lampe* in Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. vi, p. 106, but this he did not recognize as a flying-fish, calling it 'a fish of some other kind'. Yet there can, I think, be no doubt that the surviving wing belongs to one or other of the two fishes, since on the edges marked by arrows in fig. 1 the marks of breakage are distinct, though these edges do not join as a piece is missing.

and one could almost say that an illustration of the one might stand for the other.

The fish on the engraved stone is the only one of these to show the little fin on the lower jaw which our gold flying-fish also have, but these have besides another set of fins in the middle of the back which are absent from the other representations, so that our fish give the most complete picture.

As we see in plate XI, the two fishes are swimming in opposite directions.[1] It is reasonable therefore to suppose

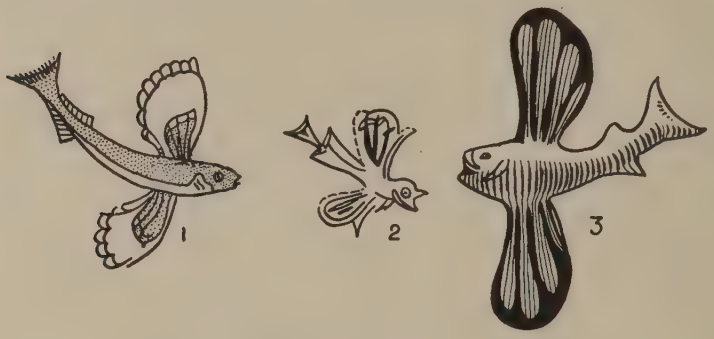


FIG. 1. Flying-fish in Mycenaean art.

that they were originally made as a pair to be put one on each side of the blade, swimming in the same direction towards either the point or the hilt. The former direction is the more probable, because from the spread of their wing fins they must have been on the broad part of the blade, and it is more natural for them to have been swimming into the picture.

The bronze fragments that have been preserved, nos. 2, 3, and 4 of plate XI, would appear to be parts of one sheet of metal on which the inlay was wrought before it was attached to the blade. That is known to have been the usual technique, by which the dagger blade consisted of three

[1] The two *faïence* fish from Knossos are both swimming to the spectator's left.

parts, the two sheets on which the decoration was worked and the actual blade.[1]

Only for the simpler kinds of ornament was the gold fastened direct to the blade and the details then engraved upon it. The first method, however, was only used for small blades,[2] which is natural enough, for with the spring of a longer blade such as that of a sword there would have been a risk of the decorated plate's becoming detached. This point convinces me that we are dealing with a small

Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the dagger.

dagger and not, as others have thought, with the remains of a sword.

If we attempt a hypothetical restoration of the Vaphio dagger from the surviving pieces we do not get the length of the larger daggers from Mycenae, but on the other hand the outspread wing fins of the fish demand a greater width at the heel of the blade than the known examples show.

The rough sketch of fig. 2 shows my attempt to arrange the fragments in their most probable combination. It makes, however, no claim to certainty. The guiding principle was the width of the pieces, as the broader bits would naturally be further from the point. The side edges of the fragments are pretty well intact except for one edge (uppermost in plate XI) of the smallest, which is a broken edge.

Each fragment, as we see, has part of a human figure in

[1] Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vi, pp. 780–1; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*, p. 270.

[2] Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, vi, p. 780. The usual length of blade is 0·20 m. to 0·25 m.

an attitude that in my opinion best suits a swimmer. This is particularly true of no. 4 from the position of the arms and the turn of the head. If we are right in assigning the flying-fish to the same composition they strengthen the impression that it is a picture of the sea, as does the absence of a loin-cloth from the legs of the figure of fragment no. 3, which must therefore be completely nude. Exertion on land did not demand this, as we see that for the lion hunt on the Mycenae dagger[1] the loin-cloth was not dispensed with, and was indeed emphasized by being wrought in silver.

Under two of the figures there is attached an undulating piece of gold wire in single or double wave, and there was doubtless the same under the feet of the third. This in our interpretation of the scene must represent the surface of the sea.[2] Besides the wire beneath the feet of the second figure, no. 3 in plate XI, there is another bit of gold roughly kidney-shaped. As to its meaning we can only guess. It might be a rock or even a sea-tortoise.

Small wavy lines frequently represent water in Greek art, both developed and archaic, but I must admit that we do not meet this convention in Mycenaean art either in works of this kind or in the frescoes. Yet a set of wavy lines do represent water on a seal impression from Knossos.[3] There can be no doubt that the two bits of gold leaf, one of which is punctulated, to be seen above the first figure, no. 2 in plate XI, are conventional representations of rocks. The convention finds close analogies on the frescoes and still more on the numerous vases that exist of about the

[1] Well illustrated in Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, vi, pl. 18, p. 782.

[2] It has been thought that those daggers that show incised ornament originally had gold wire in the incisions. This view gains in plausibility through the presence of gold wire on our dagger. The incised daggers may be contemporary with those with inlay but are probably slightly earlier, so that it may be that their incisions, if in fact filled with wire, were the first steps towards the inlaid decoration that has come down to us.

[3] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 273, fig. 202[a].

same date. A particularly close analogy is afforded by the pithos with dolphins from Pachyammos, which may be thought to be contemporary.[1]

Further, on the well-known dagger with an incised picture belonging to Queen Aah-Hotep, work agreed to be perfectly Cretan in style, rocks are shown in the upper part of the scene by a triangular outline filled with dots just as they are here.[2]

It is true that the rocks represented on the Mycenaean dagger with the galloping lions are treated in a convention more nearly resembling that of the frescoes, yet they, too, are placed in the upper part of the scene.[3]

The swimmers of our dagger are not unique, for we find some also on the famous silver rhyton from the Fourth Shaft Grave now that it has been completed.[4]

The leg that has been preserved separately (no. 7, plate XI) clearly belongs to one of the figures on the other side, since it cannot belong to any of the existing figures, and it is improbable that there was a fourth figure on this side, as that would involve too great a length for the dagger. Probably the rock (no. 6, plate XI) also belonged to the other side. We have by hypothesis to find a place for the second flying-fish, and so we may reasonably argue that the subject of the other side was a similar sea-picture.

My tentative restoration (fig. 2) is 0·22 m. long between the studs and the point, the usual length of daggers with

[1] Cf. Seager, *The Cemetery of Pachyammos, Crete*, pl. XIV. Evans, *P. of M.* i, fig. 447[a], p. 608, where the better view is expressed that rocks are what is represented and not the surface of the sea with 'white horses'.

[2] Evans, *op. cit.*, i, p. 715, fig. 537.

[3] Evans, *op. cit.*, i, p. 715, fig. 538.

[4] Some new pieces were joined to it by the late Director of the National Museum at Athens, M. V. Staïs; the complete vase was published in the *Athenische Mitteilungen* for 1915. M. Staïs explains the figures that have been added as warriors creeping to the attack, but Sir Arthur Evans (*op. cit.*, i, p. 698) rightly interprets them as men swimming ashore from a wreck.

inlaid decoration. I repeat that I do not put forward my restoration as certain, but as intended merely to give an idea. Its tentative nature is shown by the fact that the second and third fragments might change places, both being of about the same width. I preferred, however, to put the swimmer's head to the point to make the design conform with the other daggers from Mycenae, all of which show the peculiarity that the last animal has its head and never its tail turned to the point.[1]

I should point out that piece no. 3 (plate XI) seems in the photograph to be a little wider on the right. This might be due to decay, or again it may merely look so owing to the photograph having been possibly taken a little askew;[2] but if it really is wider on the right we must believe this fragment to belong to the other side of the dagger, for the narrower end should be that nearest the point.

As regards the date of the fragments, we may at all events suppose the work to be one of the first examples of the inlaid technique before the period of its fullest development. This is suggested by the absence of silver, a metal of which great use is made on the other Mycenaean daggers. Moreover, the obvious resemblance between the flying-fish and those of the Phylakopi fresco, and in a lesser degree the other similar fish of the late Middle Minoan period, with the likeness between the dotted rocks and those of the Pachyammos vase of M. M. III and those of Aah-Hotep's dagger leads to the conclusion that our dagger should be assigned to the end of the Middle Minoan age, or at latest to the transition between that period and Late Minoan I.

If my interpretation of these figures as swimmers holds good, then we have discovered another of the marine

[1] *e. g.* All the daggers illustrated in the plates of Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, pp. 780 ff.

[2] The photograph was taken by the photographer of the National Museum at my written request, and was sent to me in Crete.

XI. Nos. 1, 5, 5a, 6, 7 detached pieces of gold leaf. Nos. 2, 3, 4 Fragments of bronze with gold inlay

A Restoration of flying-fish in gold and niello

pictures that were so popular with Minoan art of just this time; and to the list[1] of daggers with inlaid ornament known hitherto we may add not only that with the dolphins recently dug up by Mr. Blegen but the dagger with 'swimmers' from the tomb at Vaphio.

Sp. N. Marinátos

[1] A list is given in Tsountas-Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, p. 200.

PAINTED VASES FROM CYPRUS, IN THE PITT-RIVERS MUSEUM AT OXFORD[1]

(Plates XII, XIII, XIV.)

THE painted vases from Cyprus figured in plates XII and XIII are now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford. They were acquired by General Pitt-Rivers from General Louis Palma di Cesnola, who made extensive but ill-recorded excavations in Cyprus between 1865 and 1873, and accumulated a vast collection of antiquities, the greater part of which passed to the Metropolitan Museum of New York, though smaller series were acquired by the British Museum, the Turin Museum, the Boston Museum of Fine Art, and other institutions. Cesnola's own account of his excavations does not mention these vases, and there is no record of their place of discovery, or of other objects found

[1] The following abbreviations are used:

Atlas (followed by numerals). I. H. Hall, *Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection.* Vol. ii. New York, 1894.

Berl. Berlin Museum, with numerical references to A. Furtwängler, *Vasensammlung des Berliner Museums.*

BM. C (numeral). British Museum, *Catalogue of Vases.* I. ii. London, 1912.

CMC. (numeral). J. L. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum.* Oxford, 1899.

Cyprus. L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Temples, and Tombs.* London, 1877.

Exc. British Museum, *Excavations in Cyprus*, 1900.

KBH. M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible, and Homer.* Berlin and London, 1893. (Plates have roman numerals.)

Lou. A. (numeral). E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre.* i. Paris, 1897.

NY. (numeral). J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. N.Y. 1914.

Perrot (page and figure number). G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité.* iii. Paris. (The figure numbers are the same in the English translation.)

with them; and, so far as I know, no example of the more elaborately decorated variety has ever yet been found in a scientifically recorded tomb.[1]

The approximate position of the whole group in the sequence of Cypriote pottery is fairly clear, from the vase-forms and the styles of decoration. Those with geometrical ornament belong to a fairly early phase of the Early Iron Age, and are only slightly specialized in form from a common type of oenochoe which was taken over from the repertoire of the Late Minoan pottery of Cyprus; the body, however, has become more globular and plump-looking, and the neck has almost disappeared between the shoulder and the wide pouring-lip. The resemblance of such an oenochoe to a bird's head and beak has been accentuated by painting not only a pair of eyes, but also schemes of concentric semi-circles on either side of the spout, as in nos. 6 and 7. The same device recurs occasionally on Cypriote oenochoae of normal proportions, but is only customary on this specialized form, to which the nickname of 'bird-jug' may be conveniently given.

A further attempt to enhance this zoomorphic aspect of the 'bird-jug' is seen on nos. 2 and 5, where the quite common dash of paint at the base of the handle has been elaborated, first (as on no. 5) into a recurved tail or pair of tails,[2] and then (on no. 2) into a human arm clutching the swollen body of the vessel, and furnished with a rudely drawn hand. More elaborate zoomorphs are common in Cypriote pottery, from the Bronze Age to Hellenic times, culminating in human-headed oenochoae[3] (Louvre, Berlin), and the long series of pitchers with spouts formed by bulls' heads or jugs held by a female figure perched at the base

[1] For permission to publish these vases I am indebted to the Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Mr. Henry Balfour.

[2] Compare NY. 764; BM. C 818, 837, 935.

[3] NY. 793; 930–3; Perrot, pl. IV, p. 695 (Coll. E. Piot); p. 696, fig. 504; *KBH.* xix. 2, xx.

of the neck, commonest in the necropolis of Marion,[1] but found also on several other sites.

More significant is the painted decoration of the body. Normal Cypriote oenochoae of the Early Iron Age inherit from Late Minoan predecessors the simple scheme of horizontal bands—single broad ones alternating with groups of narrow lines—which delimits a single shoulder-zone on which lattice-triangles, concentric triangles, and other degenerate survivals of the Minoan floral repertoire are displayed.[2] Rather rapidly these are in competition with the concentric-circle ornament which is so popular on most classes of Cypriote pottery; while the body surface is further dissected by the peculiar 'vertical circle' design, sometimes superposed on the primary horizontal bands, sometimes replacing them.[3]

On the 'bird-jugs', on the other hand, all dissection of the body surface into zones is avoided, releasing a 'free field' for decoration of another kind. This was not quite spontaneous, for there is another series of Cypriote jugs, with globular body, unusually long narrow neck, and wide almost flat rim like that of an alabastron, the painted decoration of which is similarly restricted to the neck and lip, while the surface of the body is carefully prepared for burnishing, so as to enhance the 'free-field' effect.[4] The origin of this 'plain-bodied' fabric is obscure,[5] but its characteristic flat rim and frequent 'handle-ridge' around the neck separate it altogether from Minoan antecedents, and associate it with fabrics of the Syrian mainland, and with non-Minoan fabrics of Cyprus itself in the Late Bronze Age. In a 'red-ware' fabric, these flat-rimmed and plain-

[1] Herrmann, *Das Gräberfeld von Marion*, Berlin, 1888 (plates). NY. 936–43.

[2] For example NY. 549: compare the plates NY. 560–1, the krater NY. 613, and the flask NY. 629.

[3] NY. 647, 649, 704–14.

[4] NY. 631, 634; BM. pl. xxxiv. 105; CMC. 982 (pl. iv).

[5] NY. 4586–7 are fine examples in *silver*.

bodied jugs are one of the commonest domestic utensils in the stratified rubbish on the 'Bamboula' site at Larnaca (partially excavated for the Cyprus Museum in 1913, but unfortunately not yet published), at a horizon which appears to represent the Phoenician 'New Town' of Kition in the eighth century B. C. Whether this fabric is specifically Phoenician, however, it is not yet possible to determine.

On the 'free field' thus provided, then, on the undecorated bodies of the 'bird-jugs', space was available for two fresh types of decoration: (A) geometrical, and (B) pictorial, respectively.

A

The geometrical designs are essentially amplifications of one of those 'tassel' or 'neck-tie' ornaments which are occasionally appended, from Late Minoan times onward, to the middle point (below the spout) of the painted line which delimits shoulder and neck. On a 'free-field' body, such amplification has the practical value that it disguises accidental spillings of liquid from the spout on to the shoulder. It has the theoretical interest—which appears to have chiefly attracted Pitt-Rivers in his choice of vases from the Cesnola Collection—that it illustrates the lengths to which such decorative amplification may be carried. It must be confessed, however, that, in the absence of excavation records, Pitt-Rivers selected, as illustrating the originative skeuomorphic origin of these designs, examples which are actually some centuries later in date than the grandiose schemes which he thought were suggested by them.

The elements incorporated in these composite designs are all recognizable in the repertoire of the mature geometrical ornament which is characteristic of the Early Iron Age in Cyprus, and is applied normally to decorate zones and panels on the necks and shoulders both of normal oenochoae, and of amphorae, kylikes, barrel-jugs, and so forth.[1] This

[1] For example NY. 595–6, 608, 613, 666.

repertoire originates in the sub-Minoan lattice-triangles, and contemporary zone-fillings; it culminates in brief exuberance some while before the first appearance of Egyptian lotus-petals or the Asiatic guilloche; and then it is for the most part superseded, partly by the facile monotony of the compass-drawn 'target' of concentric-circles, partly by the lotus, guilloche, rosette, and other symptoms of intercourse with foreign schemes of decoration.[1]

The identity of the geometric elements in the zone-decoration of other kinds of vessels with those in the 'neck-tie' designs on the 'bird-jugs' is sufficient evidence for the date of the latter. What is interesting, however, is that the painters of the 'bird-jugs', though their repertoire was that of contemporary designers of zones and panels,[2] deliberately employed it to construct designs which are always on a 'free field', and only in the most residual connexion with the 'neck-string' line which appears to have given occasion to such enhancement, on vessels already zoomorphized by the eyes on the spout. For the effect is to suggest further resemblance to the numerous birds like the thrush whose plumage includes a patterned 'waistcoat'. On nos. 1, 3, and 4 the design still issues from the 'neck-tie',[3] but in no. 6 it is quite detached from it, and has also become elaborate, combining, among other elements, the diaper-triangle on no. 1 with a modification of the 'paired-semicircle' ornament on nos. 3 and 4. Note especially the device of thickening a marginal line into a solid excrescence near its middle, a derivation from the normal employment of mere outline, which we shall see put to a fresh use in no. 8.

[1] For example NY. 676, 680, 686, 696, 697, 699.

[2] Examples of these geometrical elements are: concentric triangles, NY. 560, 665, 666, 669; lozenge-diaper triangles, NY. 561, 622, 629; marginal excrescences, NY. 613, 669, BM. C 764–5, 814, 816; paired semicircles, NY. 595, 613, 666, BM. C 815, 836 (*Cat.*, pl. IV); swastika, NY. 665; rayed disc, NY. 596, 666, Perrot, fig. 509, Berlin, *KBH.* lxi; arrow ornament, NY. 696, BM. C 814 (on C 837 it is described as a 'palm-tree'), Perrot, fig. 511.

[3] As in NY. 598, 622; BM. C 944.

Subsidiary ornaments are added rarely on the 'free field'; the swastika on no. 6, the rayed disc, a Minoan heritage, on no. 4, and the 'arrow ornament' on nos. 3, 4, and 6, composed of a series of consequent chevrons diminishing in size from a very large one at the apex, to a terminal dot. These subsidiary ornaments link these geometrically ornamented 'bird-jugs' with those which have pictorial designs on their 'free field'.

B

The pictorial designs fall into three main groups.

(*a*) Most closely connected with the geometrical designs are the numerous birds (as on nos. 7, 9, 10), rendered with a mature conventionalism which combines grotesquely simplified anatomy with elaborate geometrical fillings, but nevertheless imparts much character and vivacity to the design as a whole. In the finest examples, such as NY. 754, 755, the neck, body, and legs are in solid black, on which the nearer wing is reserved as a panel filled with conventional feather-work, or substitutes for it. In the poorest (which also seem to be latest) specimens only the thighs are still in solid black (as on no. 10), and the wing panel fills the whole space within the outline of the body. The head, however, is almost always in outline, like the heads of the bulls, other animals, and human figures, which we shall have to consider later.

There is usually red paint in the larger panels, applied in solid masses which stand free within a black outline. It is of various quality, a strong brick-red on no. 7, but more usually purple or brownish. This 'trichrome' technique, in which a white ground bears designs outlined in black and partially filled with solid red, has a fairly definite range in the Mediterranean world, which I discussed some years ago[1] with special reference to its occurrence on sites in Asia Minor. Mr. Henri Frankfort's recent memoir on early

[1] *Journ. R. Anthrop. Inst.* xxxiii. (1903), pp. 390 ff.

pot-fabrics[1] does not greatly increase our knowledge of this technique, and it may, I think, be accepted that the trichrome decoration—of Syria and Palestine, and of certain alien (probably Syrian) fabrics found in Egypt; of Cyprus, where it had a great vogue from the latest phase of the Bronze Age to the sixth century; of Rhodes, and of Ionian fabrics along the west coast of Asia Minor—has probably spread from a centre within the plateau of Asia Minor, which was the principal source of the red *miltos* pigment or 'earth of Sinope' in Hellenic times.

Whereas the birds which are frequent on the Late Minoan kraters from Cypriote sites such as Enkomi[2] usually walk in a frieze (though they are occasionally confronted around a tree[3] or are included in more elaborate scenes[4]), and whereas occasional friezes of birds occur on quite early vases of the Transition and earliest Iron Age, those on the bird-jugs are detached from such context and either run or fly freely and singly, or are incorporated as accessories in larger schemes of the kind to be discussed later, as on no. 8. This substantive presentation permits greater variety of pose, especially in the treatment of the wings: usually the nearer wing is represented (as above) by a panel on the body, and the other is raised above the back;[5] but sometimes the significance of the body panel has been forgotten, and a third wing is added, either above the back,[6] or in front of the neck.[7] Occasionally the bird feeds on a lotus plant[8] or catches a fish as on no. 7;[9] or a lotus plant appears in the background.[10] On NY. 760 the bird is replaced altogether by a fish like that on NY. 757. On

[1] H. Frankfort, *Study in Early Pottery of the Near East*, Roy. Anthrop. Inst., Occasional Papers, no. 6. London, 1924.

[2] BM. *Excavtions in Cyprus*, 1900, fig. 71 (931), 73 (966, 937).

[3] *l. c.*, fig. 73 (964).

[4] *l. c.*, fig. 74 (1160), fig. 76 (1261).

[5] BM. C 732, 857.

[6] NY. 677 (kylix), 757 (oenochoe).

[7] NY. 756.

[8] NY. 677, 758; BM. C 817 (fig. 290).

[9] NY. 757.

[10] NY. 754: in 759 the lotus has been substituted for the 'third wing'.

NY. 759 a pair of birds extends a geometrical panel design.[1] Similar birds occur also on other kinds of vases,[2] and serve to fix the place of the 'bird-jugs' in the general series of Cypriote pottery. They are also carried forward as accessories into the composite pictorial designs which form our group (*b*).

Into the origin and significance of this bird-motive it is unnecessary to go, further than to note its very wide geographical range in the Early Iron Age. It occurs on painted pottery of Sargonid date at Kouyounjik in Assyria;[3] on potsherds from Kara-uyuk in Cappadocia;[4] from 'Philistine' sites at Tell-el-Hesy, Tell-Sandahannah, and Gezer;[5] in the Aegean it is one of the commonest occupants of geometrical friezes and panels; and is included in the repertoire of the frieze-decoration of Rhodian and Corinthian pottery. That it should have been traced, like the horse, as a favourite subject-motive of the Early Iron Age art of Macedonia, and so brought into connexion with the bird friezes of the Hallstatt culture, gives additional interest to its popularity in the Early Iron Age of Cyprus, in view of what has been already suggested as to the distribution of the 'trichrome' technique. It is one of the collateral indications that the profound changes which were occurring throughout Asia Minor at the close of the thirteenth century affected Cyprus and the Syrian region as well.

(*b*) A second class of pictorial designs consists of figures or groups from the repertoire of the 'mixed Oriental Style'

[1] Perrot, p. 702, fig. 513.

[2] Kylix, NY. 757; barrel jug, BM. C 816 (fig. 289).

[3] *Journ. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiii, pl. XLII, 40, 44.

[4] *l. c.*, p. 385, figs. 9, 10.

[5] Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, p. 62, fig. 106. Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, pl. 41 (134–41), 42 (161), 44 (Tell-Sandahannah), 47 (modelled duck-vase): Macalister, *The Excavations at Gezer*, pls. CLIX. 6; CLXIII. 1, 3, 7; (in panels) CLXV. 1, 9, 11; CLXI. 6; CLXVII. 15–17; CLXVIII. 4, 8, 9; CLXXIII. 14.

best known through the bowls of silver and bronze with engraved and embossed friezes or zones, which are distributed from Nineveh to Latium and Etruria, and have been found repeatedly in Cyprus.[1] Friezes in this style, usually rendered in trichrome, are occasionally found on Cypriote amphorae and other kinds of vases;[2] and motives from the same repertoire, in panels.[3] On the 'free field' of the 'bird-jugs', there is the same use of such subjects, for substantive ornament, as we have already seen in regard to the geometrical schemes and the birds in class (*a*). Examples are the 'sacred tree' attended by deer and birds on a fine barrel jug in the Ashmolean Museum,[4] 'sacred trees' attended by worshippers, goats, or birds,[5] a winged and human-headed quadruped,[6] a chariot-scene.[7]

These 'bird-jug' designs are of the finest and most careful draughtsmanship; far better than the panels and friezes above mentioned, which are sometimes very carelessly done; with unconventional additions, moreover, which mark the transition from this group to the next.

(*c*) In the strongest contrast with the conventional repertoire of exotic figures and ritual scenes is the third class of bird-jug designs, the draughtsmanship of which is most simply described as 'unconventional', 'styleless', or 'naïve'. Of this class, the vase figured in plate XIII, no. 8 (with its pictorial design developed in plate XIV) is one of the best examples. Here the figures and scenes are derived from daily life or wild nature: a man on a horse,[8] a running

[1] NY. 4551–61. [2] BM. C 838–9 (pl. VII), 840 (pl. VIII).

[3] Perrot, p. 700, fig. 509 (lotus-tree and birds); p. 710, fig. 522 (votary holding flower: Berlin = *KBH.* xix. 2, xx); Berlin, *KBH.* xix. 3, xxi (votaries adoring tree).

[4] P. Gardner, *Ashmolean Vases*, no. 1.

[5] NY. 751, 752; Berlin, *KBH.* xix., lxi.

[6] NY. 753. [7] BM. C 837 (pl. VI).

[8] NY. 768, 769. A similar horse with rider, in the Boston Museum of Fine Art, has been sadly repainted, but the design is ancient, as I was able to ascertain in 1924, with the help of Dr. Caskey, of the Museum's staff.

man with two spears,[1] a ship with high prow and stern, deckhouses fore and aft, and a single mast with furled sail;[2] horned animals are fairly common.[3] Similar unconventional scenes appear occasionally on other kinds of vases and at various periods. The ship, the running man, and some of the animals are in black silhouette, but the majority are in trichrome.

On no. 8 the design is at the same time more ambitious in conception and more infantile in technique than is usual, even in this 'naïve' style. A man, holding a long spear in his left hand, advances from the right and seizes with his right hand the horn of a bull which charges from the left. On the hindquarters of the bull stands a bird, with wings spread, facing the man. In the 'free field' between bird and man are two pairs of the 'rayed discs' already mentioned, and between man and bull a vertical sequence of W-shaped lines, another common filling-ornament in the Cypriote geometrical style.

Man, bull, and bird are outlined in black and filled with solid red in the 'trichrome' technique already described, with a few internal details in black. The faces are as usual in outline, with the man's eyes, and ear, and the loose skin of the bull's neck in black. The outlines are thickened here and there intentionally, to improve the outline, on the back and neck of the bull, and to render the beard and peaked hat of the man. More significant is the use of the 'solid excrescence', already mentioned as a trick of the geometrical decorator of no. 6, to render the anatomy of the man's shoulders and arms, of which the main outline is almost rectilinear. His legs, on the other hand, are drawn with curved outlines to render the thigh and calf. Both hands are shown extended in solid black; but the feet are drawn in clumsy outline, without toes, and, moreover, are set hindbefore on the legs. At first sight the artist might

[1] NY. 762. [2] NY. 761.

[3] NY. 770–2: and *Atlas*, cxxv. 941–5; cxxix. 961; Perrot, p. 666.

be thought to have changed his mind about the treatment of the legs ; for the outline of the man's left side runs on to form the anterior outline of the left leg, not the posterior as the treatment of the right leg would suggest : but the treatment of the rider on NY. 768 shows the same trick of drawing.

It is difficult to make anything of the man's costume. There is no sign of sleeves, the breasts are indicated by black circles, and the body is painted red like the arms and legs, with a panel of black chevrons at the navel. But the horizontal lines above the forward leg look like the lower edge of a garment, and the concentric quarter-circles above them may be meant to express the folds of a mere loin-cloth over the hips, or perhaps the tight-fitting drawers which are worn on Cypriote statues,[1] though this was usually worn with a tight-fitting vest with short sleeves.

The bull has the long S-shaped horns, prominent eye, and conspicuous folds of loose skin on the neck which are traditional in Late Minoan painting.[2] Its legs are more shapeless even than the man's arms, and the tail and other details are treated with the same coarse humour as the horses on NY. 768–9 and the bulls on NY. 770–2. The bird which perches or hovers above the bull's back is more carelessly drawn than usual, but has nevertheless more detail and vigour than those on the smaller and probably later 'bird-jugs'.[3]

This 'bull-fighter' vase does not by any means stand alone in Cypriote pottery. On the one hand, the 'bird-jugs' with horse and rider already mentioned show equally naïve draughtsmanship and coarse humour, and link the bull with the crudely naturalistic quadrupeds on NY. 770–2. The bird also is in the same class as the less elaborate of the birds which are substantive designs.

On the other hand, genre-scenes are occasionally found on Cypriote vases of other forms and fabrics, and genre-

[1] NY. 1040–7 ; *KBH.* ccxiv. 15.

[2] BM. C 403, 420.

[3] BM. C 822–4, 827–32.

incidents are interpolated in friezes otherwise composed of extracts from the 'Mixed Oriental' repertory; as on BM. C 838–9. An early example is the clay tripod or vase-stand [1] with black silhouette figures of grotesque long-haired men among goats, fish, and palm-trees: these designs have unfortunately been partly repainted, but they are certainly ancient, and the vessel itself is shown by its geometrical decoration to belong to a quite early phase of the Early Iron Age. Not far removed in date is a lentoid 'pilgrim bottle', NY. 545, with vigorous sketches of animals, birds, and plants. An even earlier design is the frieze of pairs of men on a jug,[2] which is in the same rare trichrome fabric as the jug with birds [3] and geometrical decoration.[4]

Then there is the large krater from Tamassos [5] which was found in 1885 by Ohnefalsch-Richter in the same tomb as a bird-jug 'like Cesnola, *Cyprus* pl. XLVI' (= Cesnola-Stern. pl. XCIV). This vase is of a very early form, not far removed from that of the Late Minoan kraters with bulls, birds, and chariot scenes; it has the double handles modelled as the horns of an ibex head, and on the shoulder a Late Minoan scale-ornament which is found rarely also on very early vases of the transition to the Iron Age. The scenes, which occupy the whole body zone between handles, and are in trichrome technique, are of an even more infantile stylelessness than our 'bull-fight', yet one of the subjects, a lion-hunt, with the chief hunter in a chariot, belongs to the 'Mixed Oriental' repertory; and the other, the beheading of Medusa, to standard Greek mythology.

Better drawn, but in a less ambitious technique—black silhouette, with faces alone in outline—is the frieze on the neck of a large amphora [6] of fairly early form, such as was

[1] NY. 573, *Atlas*, cxvii. 4.
[2] BM. C 738.
[3] BM. C 732.
[4] BM. C 734–5 (pl. IV).
[5] BM. C 736 (pl. VI), first published and discussed by S. Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient*, i, 294 ff.; cf. *KBH.* cxxxvii. 6.
[6] Louvre, Perrot, p. 721, fig. 531. *KBH.* cxv. 3.

common at Amathus in tombs with geometrically decorated pottery and semicircular bow-fibulae.[1] Here two bearded and heavily draped men carry between their shoulders a pole on which is slung the carcass of a horned animal: they move to the right and are followed by a smaller figure carrying a deep conical vessel on its head. There is here less vigour of movement or vulgar humour, and it is a scene of daily life, not of mythology or symbolism.

A similar amphora, fragmentary, with silhouette designs of an altar surrounded by palm-trees, birds, and stars,[2] links this more ambitious hunting-scene with the tripod NY. 573 already described.

Two other subjects are assigned by the form and ornament of the vases themselves to a period not much earlier or later than the 'bird-jugs'. One[3] on the body zone of a 'pyxis' or deep bowl, in the Piot Collection, represents a watch-dog on leash, with open mouth as if barking. The body is in silhouette and the head, as usual, in outline with painted details. There are reserved panels on shoulder and hindquarters. In the field, in front of the dog, is a scheme of inverted chevrons: behind, a small naturalistic tree. As the panels on the other side of the vessel contain lotus flowers, this example cannot be much earlier than the seventh century.

The other, on a similar vase in the British Museum,[4] shows a serpent, in rather angular Z-shaped pose, about to feed on a naturalistic tree. There is no good reason for attributing any symbolic meaning to this design.

Approximately of the same 'bird-jug' form as our 'bull-fight' vase, decorated in the same trichrome technique, and probably of much the same age, is an oenochoe formerly in

[1] Such as NY. 4730–2, 4734.

[2] BM. C 858–9, = *KBH.* clv. 9: found by Ohnefalsch-Richter near Larnaca.

[3] Perrot, pl. III, p. 684 (design), fig. 508 (vase).

[4] BM. C 856.

the Constantinides Collection at Nicosia in Cyprus,[1] on which is represented a man with body full-face but with head and feet turned to the right. His right arm is raised behind his head and holds a rod, at the free end of which is a small bird; his left draws towards his nose one of the lateral flowers of a lotus tree, as if to smell it. From the drawing of the elbows and upper arms it seems that a short-sleeved vest was intended, but there is no sign of sleeve hems. The man's face is in outline, much better rendered than that of our 'bull-fighter', with eye, ear, sparse beard, and back hair; he wears a domed head-dress, rich collar, belt of lines and chequer ornament, and a roughly represented kilt with red central and white lateral panels separated by a black ladder pattern and a pointed appendage below the lower edge. This costume is easily identified with that of Cypriote statues such as NY. 1266, 1268. Both legs emerge from the lower edge of the kilt, not irregularly like those of our 'bull-fighter'. In the free field are the customary ornaments, swastika and rayed disc.

Rather later, on the other hand, is a large amphora 'from Ormidhia' in the Cesnola Collection,[2] decorated in the same rich 'embroidery style' as BM. C 849–55, but considerably earlier in form than these. On the body zone is a 'picnic scene', in which some of the figures recline on chairs or couches, among lotus plants, smelling flowers, while others stand or move in attendance on them. The technique is trichrome, with faces as usual in outline. Here the conventional accessories, lotus plants, flowers, and the like, are of standard forms, but the figures, and especially the principal

[1] S. Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient*, i, p. 194: *KBH.* xix. 4. I do not know where this vase is now.

[2] This vase is fragmentary and has been badly mended and much overpainted, and has suffered severely from efflorescence since it came to New York. It is therefore no longer exhibited and is not included in my description of the Cesnola exhibit, but is still preserved in the Metropolitan Museum. The published reproductions of the design are all based on Perrot, p. 711, fig. 523, which appears to have been correct in essentials.

personages, are of the same naïve sloppy forms as our 'bull-fighter' and the people on the 'Tamassos-vase'; and there is a clear intention to present the chairs in perspective, with legs of different lengths, and oblique frame-work. This seems to preclude the notion that such designs were the work of positively unskilful draughtsmen: we are driven to infer that the artist *could* have designed conventional forms and poses, but preferred to give rein to his observation, and drew things as he saw them, however inadequate for this his handling turned out to be; even as the tables of Plato's draughtsman were 'twice removed' from the idea of a table.

Even more striking is another 'picnic' vase from Amathus[1] in precisely the same late phase of the 'embroidery style', and found in the same tomb, as those with a frieze of conventional 'sacred trees'[2] or panels containing 'Hathor-heads'[3] like the well-known 'Phocaea vase',[4] which is certainly of the same Cypriote fabric, in spite of its place of discovery. All alike are distinguished from other Cypriote picture-painting by the free and not unskilful use of the Hellenic device of incising internal details on a black silhouette, borrowed from Aegean 'black-figured' vases such as were found also in the same tomb; and their 'embroidery' ornaments are not merely of the same school, but probably of the same workshop. But while the 'sacred trees' and 'Hathor-heads' are quite conventional, the trees, birds, and figures of the 'picnic' panel—which is in black silhouette—are styleless and graphic. A remarkable bit of realism is a drinking-cup represented as V-shaped; that is to say, it is 'drawn in section' to show that it is hollow.

Far superior to all these in execution, but like them in their frank naturalism, are the birds, bulls, flowers and trees on the shoulder zone of the later jugs with spouts formed by a bull's head or a woman-and-pitcher figurine.[5] This

[1] BM. C 855. [2] BM. C 853. [3] BM. C 854.
[4] BM. C 852.
[5] *KBH.* xxii–xxiv, lxii–lxiii, clv, clviii, clxxx.

series begins in the sixth century and goes on into the fourth and perhaps the third. The subjects are painted—sometimes on red-ware in black, or black and white, or white with polychrome details, sometimes on white-ware in polychrome.

Naïve or Styleless Draughtsmanship.

Though no very precise dates can be assigned to most of these unconventional paintings, it seems clear that they are distributed over a considerable range of time, from the Late Minoan decline in the twelfth century to the sixth century or (including the white-painted and polychrome examples) to the fourth or third. It seems also probable that they do not stand in any necessary connexion with each other, but are sporadic individual revolts from the conventional styles of different periods. That they are not the hybristic efforts of an untrained apprentice is indicated by the combination of conventional and unconventional elements in the same composition, and also by the technical proficiency of the trichrome work, even in the most extreme examples. We seem forced to infer that they are the work of expert craftsmen deliberately discarding traditional modes of presentation in dealing with unconventional subjects; that they are in fact experiments, aspirations after a free style expressive of the designer's own observation.

This is a phenomenon by no means confined either to Cyprus or to the Early Iron Age. We recall the human head from the Kamarais Cave,[1] the 'fisherman vase' from Phylakopi,[2] the grotesque 'demon-vases' also from Phylakopi[3]—to take only Minoan examples. Even in Hellenic times there are the Kabeiric vase-paintings of Boeotia and the outline-drawings of owls and other birds on the shoulders of covered pyxides from Rhodes and other parts of the southern Aegean. On other margins of the Hellenic world

[1] Myres, *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, 2nd series, xv, pl. 11, 12.

[2, 3] *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, London, 1904.

there are the embossed friezes of North Italy and other parts of the Hallstatt culture-area; and nearer home there are the occasional eccentricities of the Romano-British and other provincial schools of sculpture.

Even in Egypt there are the grotesque court scenes in a well-known papyrus of the reign of Rameses III;[1] and if we require modern parallels, both of the revolt of a craftsman and of the artlessness of an amateur, there are Edward Lear's illustrations to the *Nonsense Book* and those of W. S. Gilbert to the *Bab Ballads* or Algernon Blackwood to the *Bad Child's Book of Beasts.*

Such eccentricities are individual, and inevitably rare, and it is only by rare accident that they are preserved. But it would seem reasonable to suppose that they are likely to be commoner whenever there has been a clash of cultures, and the dominant artistic convention, installed through political or economic causes, sits uneasily on the souls of the craftsmen. Ἔστι γὰρ τὸ τέρας τῶν παρὰ φύσιν τι, παρὰ φύσιν δ' οὐ πᾶσαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ . . . ὅταν μὴ κρατήσῃ τὴν κατὰ τὴν ὕλην ἡ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος φύσις.[2] The craftsman, like nature and the deity, is normally 'working towards an end and striving after what is perfect. But sometimes the idea is defeated in its aim; matter gets the upper hand; and monsters and misgrowths are the result.'[3] What it was that upset the designer of our 'bull-fight' vase and made him paint it so, it is easy to imagine and impossible to prove. Cyprus lies exposed to influences from several very different quarters; from the southern coast-land of Asia Minor, from Phoenicia, from Egypt on the rare occasions when Egypt was politically aggressive, and from the Aegean repeatedly. Unlike Crete and the shores of the Aegean itself, it is singularly defenceless against such

[1] A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt.*

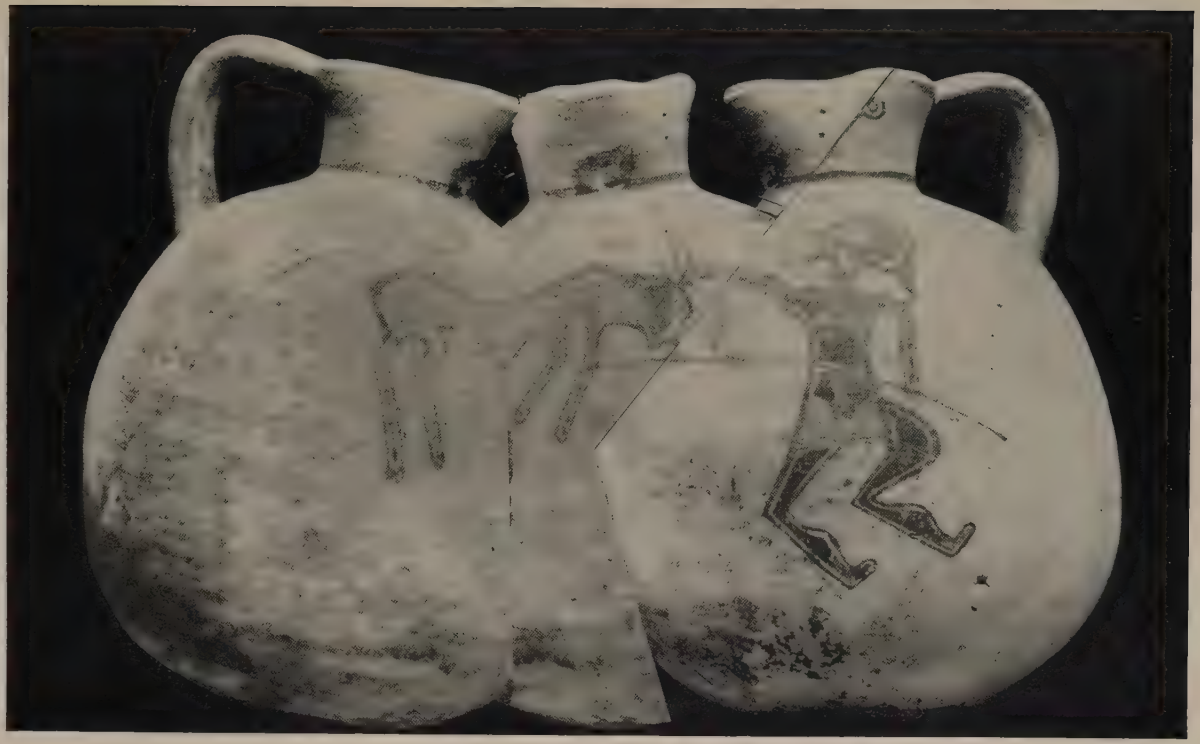
[2] Aristotle, *de Generatione Animalium*, iv. 4. 770, b. 16.

[3] E. Wallace, *Outlines of the Philosophy of Aristotle*, Cambridge, 1908, p. 83.

XII. PAINTED VASES FROM CYPRUS IN THE PITT-RIVERS MUSEUM AT OXFORD

XIII. PAINTED VASES FROM CYPRUS IN THE PITT-RIVERS MUSEUM AT OXFORD

The scene on No. 8 is developed on Plate XIV



XIV. THE DESIGN ON THE 'BULL-FIGHTER VASE'

Developed from Plate XIII by piecing together three aspects of the vase : parts of the bird are unavoidably repeated

assaults, for it is physically discontinuous and politically has never been quite at unity within itself. Seldom, if ever, after the Middle Bronze Age could the Cypriote call his soul his own. This is what makes the chronology of Cypriote art and industry so confused, and permitted the juxtaposition of incongruous styles and a bewildering eclecticism. And probably it was this which also sometimes provoked such revolt and artistic nihilism as these queer pictures display, side by side with that unhandy provincialism which justifies the current estimate of Cypriote works of art, the Κύπριος χαρακτήρ which provoked the sarcasm of Aeschylus.[1]

J. L. Myres

[1] Aeschylus, *Supplices*, 282.

THE EGYPTIAN WRITING-BOARD B.M. 5647, BEARING KEFTIU NAMES

(Plates XV and XVI.)

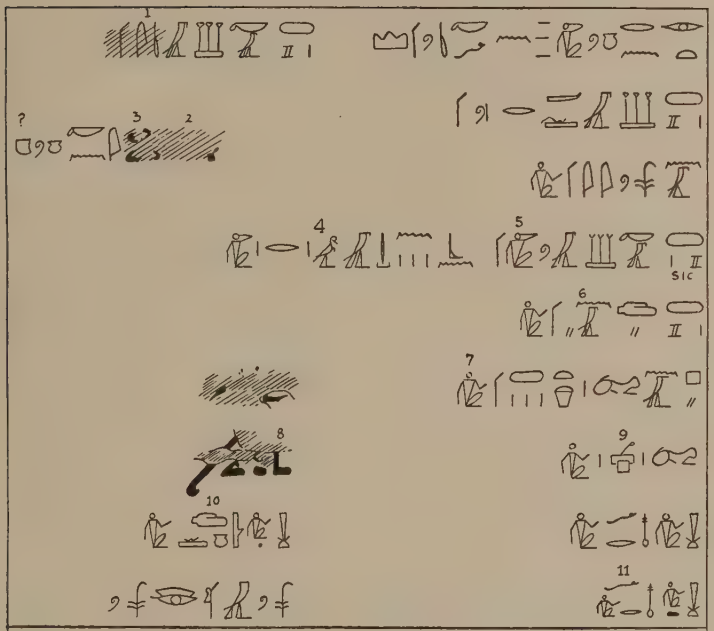
THE Egyptian writing-board No. 5647 in the British Museum has been published before,[1] and if I return to it, it is partly in view of Max Müller's own statement that his facsimile makes a publication of photographs none the less desirable, and partly in order to plead for a more cautious and scientific use of the contents of this document.

The board is a piece of wood 255 mm. long by 138 mm. high, and 5 mm. in thickness. It is covered on either side with a layer of linen cloth, which in its turn bears a thin coating of fine white plaster, forming a smooth and even writing surface. A small hole close to the middle of one of the long sides was doubtless intended to take a string used for convenience in carrying.[2] The board is, in other words, one of the type normally used by pupils in the Egyptian schools.

There is writing on both sides. On the one side, which for convenience we may call the recto, there is a list of names headed 'To make names of Keftiu'. The other side appears to have been occupied by a portion of a literary or religious text, of which only the left-hand ends of the five lines remain, the rest having been wiped off. In the space thus gained are jottings of two kinds, firstly, three proper names on the right, which may be a continuation of

[1] By Spiegelberg in *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, vi. 166 (one name from verso) and viii. 385, with transcription of recto. Some notes on this by Max Müller, *op. cit.*, ix. 391–6. Full publication with facsimile by Max Müller in *Mittheil. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1900, pp. 6–9, with Taf. I and II. See also Macalister, *The Philistines* (Schweich Lectures, 1911), pp. 10, 81–2, and *Journal of Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, xii, p. 18.

[2] I do not understand Müller's statement that the tablet consists of two boards held together by a string.



1 almost certain. 2 Mere smudges, signs quite lost
3 Prob. a det. over III. 4 Hardly . see text. 5 Or just poss. a very abnormal 6 Or or 7 Not
8 Perhaps . 9 Not . 10 Quite uncertain.
11 Or possibly meant.

Transcription of *recto*.

the list on the other side, and secondly, two short phrases relating to wine, in the centre of the tablet.

The transcription of the recto is as follows:

ỉrt rn·w n Kftỉw	*ʾkšt*
ʾšḫr	. . .[1] . . . . *ỉknw*
Nsy	
ʾkš	*Bnḏb*[2] *r*
ʾdm[3]	. . . . .
Pnrt	. . . . .
Rs	*Sn*[4]*·ḳd* (?)
Sn·nfr	*Sw m rsw*
Snt·nfrt[5]	

The heading means 'To make names of Keftiu'. Then follow the two columns of names, written for the most part in the 'syllabic' script. This method of writing, used in the Eighteenth Dynasty[6] and later for foreign (particularly Syrian) proper names and foreign words taken over into the Egyptian language, consists in suppressing the vowels, as always in Egyptian, and attaching to each strong consonant one of the weak consonants ʾ (aleph), *y* or *w*. Thus the word transcribed above as *Pnrt* consists in reality of groups reading *Py-nỉ-rw-tʾ*. Attempts have been made to demonstrate that the added weak consonants indicate the vocalization, but with such complete lack of success that to make this assumption in dealing with the present problem would be unjustifiable.

With regard to the signs used in the transcription it should be noted that ʾ stands for aleph, *ỉ* for a letter which has sometimes the value aleph, sometimes that of consonantal y, *ḫ* is the Semitic deep h (ح), *š* is English sh, and *ḏ*

[1] The 'signs' read by Max Müller as 'hundred (?) or copper' are simply smears, not signs at all.

[2] *s* for *b* hardly possible. See later. Perhaps *Bnndbr* is to be read.

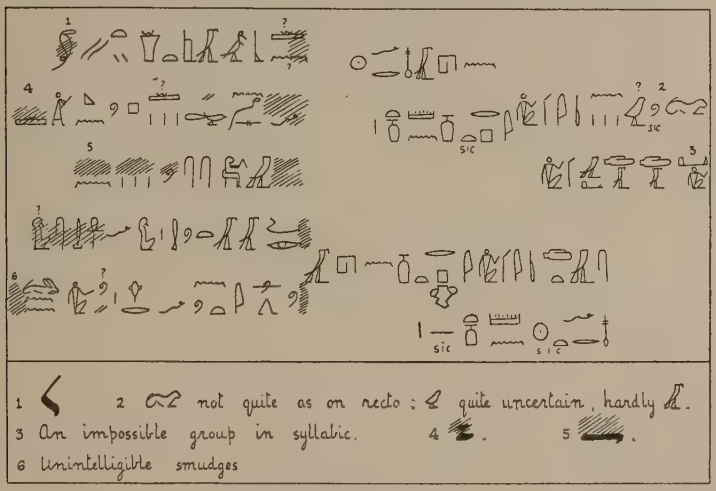
[3] Or *n* or even *t*.

[4] Or *Snt*.

[5] Or perhaps *Sn·nfr* again.

[6] There are slight traces of it in the Middle Kingdom.

is a consonant whose pronunciation is much disputed, the balance of argument at present pointing to a sound near to English j at this epoch: *ḳ* is generally taken to be the



Transcription of *verso*.

Semitic ق, while *d* is a dental, but perhaps the unvoiced t rather than the voiced d. In non-Egyptian words the sign rendered by *r* may in each case equally well stand for *l*.

The transcription of the verso runs:

	n hȝ-nfr	*Bȝst*
rwnt[1]	*ỉrp mnt 1*	*nḏs·w pw ḳn*
dddm[2]		*m špśś*
		mȝȝ·tw ḥm·f ꜥnḫ wḏȝ śnb
	śmdt ỉrp n hȝ-nfr mnt 1	*stȝ·in·twf ḥr ꜥ-wỉ·ỉ* (?) *wnn*

On the left are two foreign names, presumably a continuation of the list on the recto. In each case the scribe has made some error in the first group, so that the transcription is quite uncertain.

[1] *rw* quite uncertain.

[2] First *d* quite uncertain.

In the centre at the top stands 'One *mnt*-jug of wine for merry-making'.[1] Farther down is the word *śmdt*, with the determinatives of a foreign personal name, followed again by 'Wine for merry-making, one *mnt*-jug'.

On the left are the ends of lines belonging probably to a continuous text which once covered the whole verso. Their translation is of little value, for the syntactical relations between the few words remaining are obscure: '. . . . . Bast . . . . they are commoners, strong . . . . . in riches . . . . . his majesty, life, power and health, is seen . . . . . it was brought immediately (?) . . . . . .' These fragments do not appear to belong to any known text and an attempt to reconstruct their general tenor would be waste of time.

Both Spiegelberg and Max Müller have assumed that some at least of the eleven foreign names on the tablet are not personal but geographical. This is a natural assumption if we take the determinative of *Pnrt* to be the country determinative and not the man, as Spiegelberg did. On the original, however, it is quite clear that the sign in question is merely a badly made man. Thus of eleven names eight have the man determinative after the foreign, and the three remaining have the foreign alone. It may safely be assumed that in these cases the omitted sign is the man and not the country: not only is the dropping of the man quite common in hieratic, but had three country names stood among eight personal names the dropping of their country determinative would be most improbable. There is no reason at all for believing any of the names on the tablet to be place-names.[2]

[1] *hȝ-nfr* may be an incorrect phonetic writing of *hrw-nfr*, the *r* having already ceased to be pronounced at this period. *ỉrt hrw nfr*, lit. 'to make a happy day', is a common phrase for 'to make merry', 'enjoy oneself'.

[2] In the title 'To make names of Keftiu' there is nothing in the particular combination of words used which points to geographical names rather than personal. The phrase might refer to either just as readily as the English words 'French names'.

This rules out Max Müller's identification of *ʾdn* with a country name ʾan-tì-na-y[1] from the tribute lists of Tuthmosis III. It may be as well to add that this conjecture is further made impossible by the fact that the correct reading of the country name in the tribute list is simply *tny*:[2] in any case it is uncertain whether the last consonant in the name on the tablet is *n*, *m*, or *t*.

On the assumption—and it is the only assumption justifiable—that the foreign names are personal, can anything of value be extracted from them? The verso may in this respect be quickly dismissed. The two names on the right are, owing to the ignorance of the scribe—the whole tablet indeed is full of errors—illegible,[3] and *Smdt* in the centre, despite its determinatives, has a suspiciously Egyptian flavour[4] which warns us off. Let us then turn to the recto.

The Egyptian scribe must often be voted a tiresome fellow, for he has a curious habit of inconsequence which causes him to raise more problems than he solves. Here, for instance, he promises us 'names of Keftiu', and yet the two names at the bottom of the first column are purely Egyptian, Sennefer, 'The Good Brother', and Sentnefert, 'The Good Sister',[5] personal names common at many periods. Similarly the two last lines of the second column give an unintelligible Egyptian name beginning with Sen or Sent, and a group *św m rs św*,[6] meaning 'he is watchful' (perhaps a name), with the *św* written again at the end,

[1] *M. V. A. G.*, 1900, p. 9; *Zeitschr. f. Ass.*, ix, p. 393.

[2] Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 733. 4.

[3] Spiegelberg's identification of the second of these with the Mitanni name Artatama is ingenious, but cannot be established, the first group of the hieratic being meaningless.

[4] There is a common collective noun *smdt*, usually translated 'dependants', which seems in the New Kingdom to be used of the more humble members of the staff of a temple or necropolis.

[5] It is quite possible, however, that the second name is merely an incorrect writing of the masculine Sen-nefer.

[6] Or did he mean to write *św m rśw*, 'he is in a dream'?

possibly because the *św* sign had been incorrectly made the first time. It is, however, just possible that our scribe was a little less stupid than we imagine, and that the Egyptian names which he wrote, or attempted to write, corresponded to some of the Keftiu names, in the sense of bearing the same meaning. Thus Sen-nefer means 'The good brother', and it is possible that one of the Keftiu names has the same meaning in the Keftiu language: moreover, if the last name in the first column is really meant for Sent-nefert then one of the Keftiu names may mean 'the good sister'. It is tempting to equate these with the two names *ʾksw* and *ʾkst*. It might be suggested that *ʾk* represented a dialect form of the Semitic أخ 'brother', and that *sw* and *st* were the masculine and feminine forms respectively of an adjective meaning 'good'. In this case the Keftiu language would be Semitic. But the difficulties are prohibitive. There is no evidence for Semitic *k* replacing Arabic ك even in dialect, and if *t* be a feminine ending we need it in the word for 'sister', and should expect *ʾktst* not *ʾkst*. Moreover, what Semitic word *sw* or *st* is there meaning good?

We shall be wise to dismiss such fancies as these and to content ourselves with the facts which the recto gives. These consist of eight undamaged words stated by the scribe to be 'names of Keftiu'. Of these one, *ʾkš*, has been ingeniously identified by Max Müller with the Philistine Achish (Heb. אכיש, LXX *Αγχους*) with whom David took refuge, 1 Sam. xxi. 10. This is exceedingly tempting, the more so since Müller has pointed to the occurrence in Assyrian of an Ikausu,[1] King of Amḳarruna (Ekron). This name occurs in a list of (1) Syrian and Palestinian, (2) Cypriote-Greek, princes compelled by Esarhaddon to provide material and labour for his buildings in Nineveh. It is thus not unreasonable to suppose that Ikausu, which

[1] Esarhaddon, Broken Prism (B.M. 91030), col. v, 16; see Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 368. Mr. C. J. Gadd gave me these references and the information embodied above.

would very well suit the Hebrew אכיש, is a typical Philistine name, and Max Müller draws up the equation *ʾkš* = אכיש = Ikausu, regarding this as a confirmation of his theory that Keftiu and Kaphtor are one and the same.

In the name *Bnḏbr*[1] it is tempting to take the Bn as the Semitic בן 'the son of', and this name stands so close to *ʾkš* in the first column that we might almost read '*ʾkš* son of *Ḏbr*'. But if we do this we must either accept the implication that the Keftiu language is Semitic or at least contained Semitic proper names, or we must suppose with Max Müller that our list contains names picked from various peoples, Keftiuans, Semites, and Mitanni. This last is of course not impossible, but it is rather the counsel of despair, and it may be wiser to reject the equation Ben = בן, despite its attractiveness. In any case the penultimate consonant of the name can hardly be read otherwise than as a *b*: the group consisting of the bird followed by a stroke must almost certainly be read (*bꜣ*) and not (*sꜣ*). The latter, as hieroglyphic parallels show, is not used 'syllabically' for *s* until the Nineteenth Dynasty, and then only very rarely, being virtually confined to the rendering of the š of -šili at the end of Hittite proper names.[2] Thus the reading *Bnḏsr* is highly improbable philologically, and readings based on it, such as Ben-Sisera, with its Canaanite implications, must be regarded as purely speculative.[3]

The other Keftiu names, *ʾšḫr*, *Nsy*, *Pnrt*, and *Rs* have so far been left in peace.[4] The tablet is in fact very disappoint-

[1] The double writing of the *n* makes the whole word suspect.

[2] Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen*, i, § 104.

[3] In any case, to equate סיסרא with *ḏsr* is hardly possible, for what Egyptian scribe would render the same sound ס by two different signs *ḏ* and *s* in the same word? If it be replied that the writer was an ignorant schoolboy, then we must insist that the tablet be used as it stands or not at all, otherwise it can be made to prove anything whatsoever.

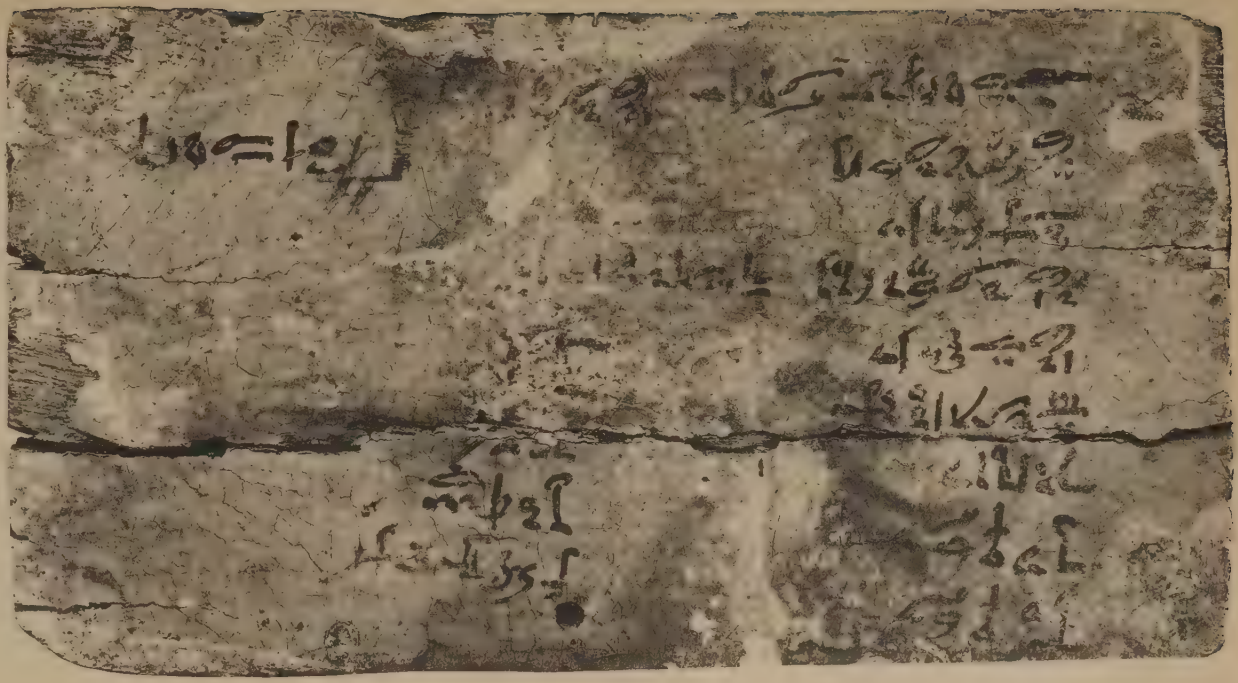
[4] Though Max Müller says that *ʾšḫr* 'ist (nach dem *ḫ*) sicher ebenfalls eine semitische Bildung'. But who is to say that the Keftiu language had

ing, but some fresh discovery may at any moment make it more intelligible and valuable. What is clear is that a few random attempts at identification with names taken from various sources in the Eastern Mediterranean area are of little use. If it could be shown that several of these names, say six or seven, were to be found at about this period among a single people somewhere in or near this area, we could then say that these people were speaking the language of Keftiu, though we should not necessarily know the location of Keftiu. Until or unless this can be done the tablet will make no serious contribution to our knowledge, and the main justifications for this very negative article are the photographs which accompany it and the cautions concerning the uncertainty of the values to be attributed to some of the signs. If guesses and comparisons are to be made let them be made on a sound basis, and let them be founded, above all, on what the scribe has written, not on what he might have or ought to have written.

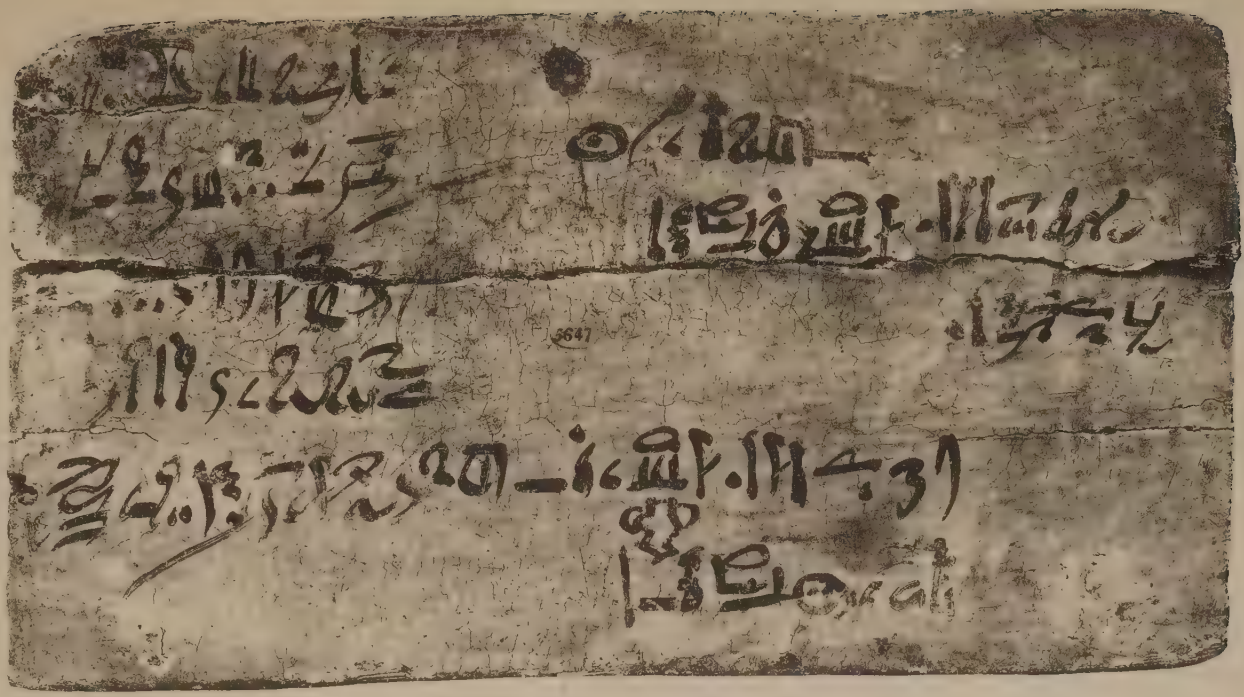
The date suggested for the tablet by Spiegelberg, followed by Max Müller, is the Nineteenth Dynasty. This seems to me very unlikely, and I have little doubt that Spiegelberg himself would no longer support this view. The script, unskilled though it be, has all the marks typical of those of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. This date is borne out by the writing of the goddess name Bast on the verso. The group *Bꜣ* is written with an alphabetic *b* and *ꜣ*, and between them a bird which was originally the *bꜣ*-bird. Möller in his admirable article on the scripts of the Eighteenth Dynasty[1] has shown that this bird, when used phonetically as here, takes on a diacritical point in or about the reign of Tuthmosis III, while later on, in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, it is made as if it were the *pꜣ*-bird.

no ḥ ( )? See too *Journ. Manch. Eg. and Or. Soc.* xii, p. 18, where the incorrect impression is given that a new tablet of Keftiuan names has been found.

[1] *Zeitschr. f. äg. Sprache*, lvi, pp. 34–43.



XV. EGYPTIAN WRITING-BOARD. B.M. 5647. *Recto*



XVI. EGYPTIAN WRITING-BOARD. B.M. 5647. *Verso*

In our script the bird lacks the point, and this bears out the general impression given by the rest of the script that the tablet was written early in the Eighteenth Dynasty, with the reign of Tuthmosis III as a *terminus ad quem*. On the other hand, the very definite divergence between the writing and that of such documents of the Intermediate Period as the Rhind Mathematical and the Ebers Medical Papyrus make it difficult to push back the date to the very earliest years of the dynasty.

T. E. Peet

EIN KRETISCHES VOTIVGEFÄSS

(Plate XVII. *a*, *b*, *c*.)

WENN ich es wage, zu dem Ehrenkranze, der für Sir Arthur Evans geflochten wird, eine bescheidene Wiesenblume beizusteuern, so geschieht es, weil sie in dem Reiche gewachsen ist, das der grosse Forscher der Wissenschaft erobert hat, und dessen Erzeugnissen er vom Grössten bis zum Kleinsten das gleiche, lebendige Interesse schenkt.

Das Gefäss und die Scherbe, die hier veröffentlicht werden, befinden sich seit langen Jahren im Besitze des Archaeologischen Seminars der Universität Berlin.[1] Nach Angabe des Händlers, von dem sie seinerzeit erworben wurden, sind sie in oder bei dem Dorfe Archanes am Fusse des Juktas gefunden worden, das als Fundort minoischer Kulturreste damals noch nicht bekannt war.[2] Wenn derartigen Angaben im allgemeinen keine Sicherheit beizumessen ist, so werden wir doch sehen, dass in diesem Falle eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit für ihre Richtigkeit vorhanden ist.

Fast ganz erhalten ist ein henkelloser Napf (Taf. XVII. *a* und *b*); ergänzt ist nur ein kleines Stück des Randes, das sich in XVII. *b* deutlich von dem Erhaltenen abhebt. Die Höhe beträgt 7,5 cm, der Durchmesser der Standfläche 6,8 cm, der obere Durchmesser 15,7–16 cm. Die ganz schlichte Form (XVII. *a*) ist von dem Töpfer mit gutem Empfinden gestaltet worden. Die schräge Wandung hat unten einen Ablauf zur Standfläche und zieht sich zum oberen Rande

[1] Inv. Nr. D. 613 und 614. Die Veröffentlichung erfolgt mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Direktors der Sammlung, F. Noack. Die ausgezeichneten photographischen Aufnahmen hat für den Zweck dieser Veröffentlichung das Archäologische Seminar der Universität Leipzig gestiftet.

[2] Erst von Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, 623 f., in die Literatur eingeführt. Daher fehlt Archanes noch in den Fundortverzeichnissen von Fimmen, *Kretisch-myk. Kultur*², 16 ff., und Karo, *Pauly-Wiss. R. E.* xi, 1801 ff.

hin etwas ein. Im Inneren ist der Boden gegen die Wandung nicht abgesetzt, sondern geht gerundet in sie über. Im Brande hat sich die Form ein wenig verzogen. Zahlreiche Rillen im Inneren und Äusseren, die meist horizontal, manchmal auch leicht spiralförmig verlaufen, rühren wohl von einem Schilfblatt oder einem anderen Hilfsmittel her, das von dem Finger gegen das auf der Scheibe rotierende Gefäss gedrückt wurde. Die Standfläche ist nachträglich mit einem solchen Blatt oder dergleichen so überstrichen worden, dass eine unregelmässige ovale Strichelung entsteht. An zwei Stellen der Aussenseite ist vor dem Brand wohl mit dem Finger in die gleichmässigen Rillen hineingewischt worden, an anderen haben sich Spuren eines Stoffes (?) eingedrückt. Die Farbe ist gelb und zwar im Inneren um eine Nuance rötlicher als aussen; nur an einer Stelle des Äusseren hat die Flamme eine bräunliche Verfärbung erzeugt.

Im Inneren (XVII. *b*) ist an die Wandung das Tonfigürchen eines Mannes angelehnt, der adorierend die Rechte an den Kopf erhebt. Der biedere Töpfer war kein Meister der Plastik. Ganz primitiv sind die Hauptformen angegeben; auf die Wiedergabe von Einzelheiten des Gesichts ist ganz verzichtet, dagegen über das Geschlecht kein Zweifel gelassen.[1] Der Töpfer hat das Figürchen freihändig geknetet und dann vor dem Brande an die Wandung angedrückt; der Kopf und die Arme schweben frei vor dem Grunde. Die kurzen Beinchen, die erst getrennt waren, sind unten durch den Druck des Fingers zusammengepresst worden.

Damit war die Arbeit noch nicht beendigt. Mit einem dicken Pinsel hat der Töpfer Firnis auf den grösseren Teil der Figur aufgetragen, die Umrisse umzogen und ihr zu Füssen und zur Seite ganz roh und willkürlich Firnisflächen

[1] Schwerlich ist Nacktheit gemeint. Es handelt sich vielmehr um eine rohe und ungenaue Darstellung der Bedeckung des Gliedes, wie sie genauer auf den besseren Terrakotten von Petsofà dargestellt ist (z. B. Bossert, *Altkreta*[2], 100 b; ungenau 100 a. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, 152, fig. 111).

und -striche angebracht. Einige Firnisspritzer beleben die übrige Fläche; man sieht, wie die Tropfen ein Stück nach unten gelaufen sind. Die Farbe des Firnisses variiert zwischen Rotbraun und einem bräunlichen Schwarz. Unter den Füssen, wo die Firnisfarbe besonders dick sitzt, hat sich ein Craquelé gebildet, von dem ein Stückchen ausgesprungen ist.

Von einem Gegenstück zu diesem Gefäss hat der Finder nur eine Scherbe mit dem Figürchen für aufhebenswert gehalten (XVII. *c*). Die Form des Napfes war ungefähr die gleiche, wenn auch die Profilierung kleine Differenzen aufweist. Im Inneren erscheint hier reiner als auf dem ersten Stück die rötliche Tonfarbe, während das Äussere ein noch helleres Gelb zeigt. Die Photographie lässt im Inneren breite, leicht spiralförmige Rillen erkennen, die durch Anpressen des Fingers während des Formens entstanden sind. Im übrigen sind innen und aussen die gleichen dünnen Rillen, wie auf dem Gegenstück zu erkennen, meist horizontal, manchmal ein wenig schräg geführt. Sie sind im Äusseren durch Partien unterbrochen, die so aussehen, als ob der Töpfer versucht hat, durch Betupfen mit einer Art von Schwamm vorhandene Unregelmässigkeiten auszugleichen.

Das Figürchen ist schlanker und flacher. Der Kopf und die untere Hälfte des rechten Arms liegen auf dem Grunde auf, während der linke Arm auch hier frei schwebte. Das Glied ist kaum angedeutet. Auf Firnisschmuck ist verzichtet.

Die Anbringung von Figürchen oder Väschen im Inneren von Gefässen ist uns aus Kreta durch einige Beispiele aus Palaikastro[1] vertraut; Fragmente sind auch in Knossos und anderen Stellen[2] gefunden worden. Es sind nicht die

[1] *B. S. A.* viii. 294 (Bosanquet); *B. S. A.* ix. 302, 5 a (Dawkins); Evans, *Palace of Minos*, 180 f., fig. 130; Bosanquet-Dawkins, 'The unpublished objects from the Palaikastro excavations', I (*B. S. A.* Suppl. Paper, Nr. 1) 12, Pl. VI u. VII (mit Angabe der Gefässornamentik).

[2] Evans, a. a. O. 180.

Typen unserer Näpfe, aber ebenfalls Erzeugnisse eines primitiven Empfindens und eines im Volke wurzelnden Handwerks. Bekannt ist der Napf von Palaikastro, der eine ganze Herde von Schafen oder Ochsen mit ihrem Hirten enthält. Andere Stücke haben in ihrer Mitte eine Taube oder einen Ochsen. Sie gehören zu einem ähnlichen Kult und stammen aus derselben Zeit, der ersten mittelminoischen Periode, aus der uns die reichen und mannigfaltigen Votivgaben aus dem Nachbarheiligtum von Petsofà [1] und der verwandten Kultstätte, die Evans auf dem Gipfel des Juktasberges ausgegraben hat,[2] erhalten sind.

Es werden verschiedene Vorstellungen sein, die bei diesen Votivgaben nebeneinander hergehen und wohl auch mitunter verbunden sind. Wenn die Abbilder einzelner Glieder geweiht werden, so ist es gewiss der Dank für Heilung von Krankheit. Der Hirt, der im Bilde sich und seine Herde darstellte, ist vielleicht aus schwerer Gewittersnot gerettet worden. Die Figürchen von Rindern, Ziegen, Widdern, Schweinen, Hunden können den Dank der Landleute für die Heilung ihrer Haustiere sein, können mitunter aber auch den primitiven Ersatz für Opfertiere darstellen, und bei Rindern und Ziegen [3] können wir auch an Bilder von Tieren denken, die bestimmten Gottheiten heilig waren. So mag die Schale mit der Taube der Göttin gewidmet sein, deren heiliges Tier die Taube war.

Die vollständigen menschlichen Figuren können als Bilder

[1] *B. S. A.* ix. 356 ff. (Myres); Evans, a. a. O. 151 ff.

[2] Evans, a. a. O. 154 ff. u. 623.

[3] Im Hinblick auf den Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1907, Taf. 8, 166 veröffentlichten Ring hatte ich schon A. M. 37, 1912, 139 A. 2 die Vermutung ausgesprochen, dass auf der einen Schmalseite des Sarkophages von Hagia Triada ein Gespann von Wildziegen gemeint sei. Die neuerdings von Evans, *J. H. S.* xlv, 1925, 3, fig. 37, veröffentlichte vergrösserte Zeichnung des Ringes lässt die Übereinstimmung noch klarer erkennen und zeigt, dass es sich auch auf dem Sarkophag trotz der Kleinheit der Hörner um Wildziegen und nicht um Pferde (so zuletzt Karo, *Religion des äg. Kreises*, x) handelt.

des von Krankheit Genesenen, aber auch einfach als Repräsentanten der ständigen Verehrung angesehen werden, Vorstellungen, die auch heute noch im Kult lebendig sind und es immer sein werden. Man darf primitive Kunsterzeugnisse gewiss nicht zu scharf interpretieren. Wenn wir aber sehen, dass an den veröffentlichten Terrakotten von Petsofà der Gestus der Adoration fehlt, so liegt es nahe, in den Figürchen von Männern und Frauen Dankvotive für glückliche Heilung zu erkennen. Der Gottheit wird ein Bild geweiht, das den Genesenen in seiner Schönheit und Stattlichkeit, so gut es die schlichte Volkskunst vermag, darstellt. Dagegen werden die Bronze- und Terrakottafiguren, die die rechte Hand adorierend an die Schläfe legen, den Stifter im ständigen Gebet vertreten.[1] Auch diese Vorstellungen werden nicht oder nicht immer getrennt gewesen sein.

Man hat in den ländlichen Heiligtümern nicht nur Votivfiguren geweiht, sondern auch Gefässe, in denen man Gaben brachte oder Geräte, in denen man Opfer spendete. Es ist leicht verständlich, dass man in der einfachen Sphäre, in der wir uns hier befinden, gelegentlich Kultgefäss und Votivfigur miteinander verband,[2] besonders begreiflich, da eine figürliche Gefässmalerei fehlte. So ist es bei den Schalen aus Palaikastro, so bei unseren beiden Näpfen geschehen. Es ist im Grunde in primitivster Form eine ähnliche Vorstellung, wie wenn in höherer Kunst ein Votiv- oder Andachtsbild mit einer Darstellung des Stifters verbunden wird.

Es ist schwer, Gefässe und Figürchen so primitiver Art, die jedes ornamentalen Schmuckes entbehren, ohne Kennt-

[1] Eine Namensinschrift auf einem Votivfigürchen aus Tylissos hat Evans, *Palace of Minos*, 634, fig. 472, erkannt.

[2] Über ähnliche, aber vielleicht nicht überall gleich zu erklärende Erscheinungen in Ägypten und anderen Ländern vgl. Jolles, *Arch. Jahrb.*, xxiii, 1908, 223 ff., u. *Arch. Anz.* 1909, 52 und die dort angeführte Literatur.

nis der Fundumstände zu datieren, und ich möchte nur unter allem Vorbehalt dem Urteil von Sir Arthur Evans eine ungefähre Datierung unterbreiten. Die Form des Napfes ist wenig charakteristisch und kommt ähnlich in allen Perioden der minoischen Kunst vor.[1] Dagegen scheint einen gewissen Anhaltspunkt die Technik der spiralförmigen Eindrücke an der Wandung der Vasen zu geben, die Evans kürzlich[2] im Anschluss an Dawkins behandelt hat. Sie ist bezeichnend für Ware der dritten mittelminoischen Periode, kommt aber, wie Evans bemerkt, schon an späten Gefässen der vorangehenden Periode vor. Der Firnis und die Art, wie er aufgespritzt ist, hat mich seinerzeit am meisten an eine Gattung von Gefässen erinnert, die Hatzidakis in Tylissos[3] gefunden und in den Anfang der ersten spätminoischen Periode datiert hat. In der Form besonders nahe verwandt scheinen mir Näpfe und Näpfchen der dritten mittelminoischen Periode aus Knossos[4] und der frühen ersten spätminoischen Epoche aus Tylissos und Palaikastro.[5] Danach mögen unsere beiden Stücke an das Ende der mittelminoischen Zeit gehören, also in eine wesentlich spätere Zeit als die sachlich verwandten Gefässe aus Palaikastro.

Angeblich sind sie in oder bei dem Dorfe Archanes gefunden worden. Nun hat Evans in der Nähe dieses Dorfes auf einem Vorhügel des Juktasberges (Trullos) ein

[1] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, 80, fig. 48 (ägyptisch, frühdynastisch), 109, fig. 76 (E. M. III), 173, fig. 122 (M. M. I); Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, Pl. II, 59; *Excav. at Phylakopi*, Pl. XIX, 7 u. 10; Evans, *Preh. Tombs of Knossos*, Pl. LXXXIX, fig. 33 (L. M.).

[2] A. a. O. 589 f.

[3] Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1912, 206 (Hatzidakis). Von Val. Müller erfahre ich, dass diese Keramik von den kretischen Fachgenossen jetzt noch in M. M. III. eingeordnet wird.

[4] A. a. O. 566, fig. 412 (Doppelgefäss), 569, fig. 414 rechts u. 577, fig. 421, 8.

[5] Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1912, 207, fig. 12; *Ausonia*, VIII, 1915, 85, fig. 10; *B. S. A.* XI. 275.

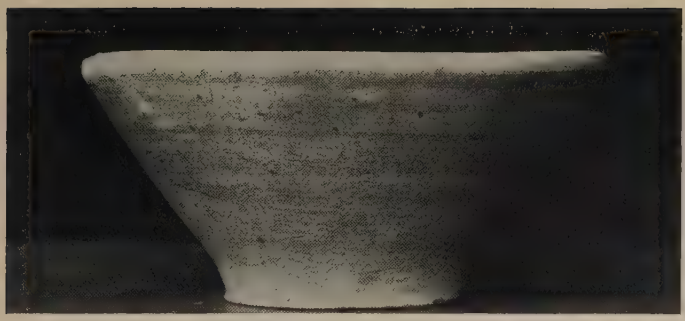
Heiligtum ausgegraben, das offenbar als Ausgangspunkt der Pilger im Zusammenhange mit dem Kulte auf dem Gipfel des Juktas stand, eine parallele Entwicklung durchmachte und ebenfalls ein „votive deposit" enthielt.[1] In beiden Heiligtümern reichen die Votivgaben bis in die dritte mittelminoische Periode. In Archanes selbst hat ein kleiner minoischer Palast gestanden.[2] Es ist kaum zu kühn, wenn wir annehmen, dass unsere Stücke aus dieser Kultstätte oder dem Palaste stammen.

Ist diese Vermutung richtig, so sind unsere Figürchen von knossischen Dienstmannen gestiftet worden, und es ist nur recht und billig, wenn sie heute mit dem Gestus der Verehrung den jetzigen Herrn des Minospalastes grüssen.

G. Rodenwaldt

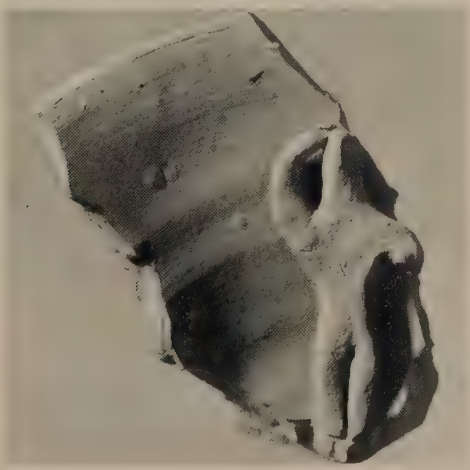
[1] A. a. O. 159 u. 623 f.

[2] A. a. O. 623, A. 6.



a. Votivgefäss. Seitenansicht

b. Votivgefäss. Innenansicht



c. Fragment eines Votivgefässes

KRETE IN BABYLONIAN AND OLD TESTAMENT TEXTS

ABOUT 2750 B.C., as the astronomical work of Dr. J. K. Fotheringham has now made certain, Sargon I founded the Semitic dynasty of Akkad in Babylonia and entered upon a career of conquest which extended the Babylonian empire throughout the greater part of Western Asia. Towards the end of his long reign a survey was compiled of the high roads (SIL DAMALLA) of the empire along with their relative distances in *bêri* or double miles, a late copy of which, made by a pupil in the royal school at Assur, has been discovered in the ruins of that city.[1] An exaggerated summary of the extent of the great conqueror's prowess and empire has been added at the end of the list, in which for the first time the name of Kaptara or Kaphtor is found in the cuneiform documents. It is true that the country lay beyond the limits of the empire itself, but the mention of it is intended to show that the name of the Babylonian hero was known and feared even in the remotest regions of the known world.

The passage in question is as follows:

l. 41. *a-na-kù*-KI *Kap-ta-ra*-KI *matâti* PAL-RI [A-AB-]BA AN-TA

42. NI-TUK-KI *Mà-gan-na*-KI *matâti* PAL-RI A-AB-BA KI-TA

43. *û matâti istu* AN UD UD-DU-[A] *adî* AN UD SU-A

44. *sa Sarru-gi-na sar kissati adî* III SU *qat-su ik-su-du*

(41) 'The Tin-land (and) Kaptara, lands beyond the Upper Sea (the Mediterranean),

(42) Dilmun (and) Magan, lands beyond the Lower Sea (the Persian Gulf),

[1] *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, no. 92.

(43) and the lands from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun,

(44) the hand of Sargon king of the world has conquered (or attained) three times!'

Anaku signifies 'lead' and more rarely tin. As the last syllable, however, is expressed by a character which, when written alone, would represent 'tin', Dr. Forrer is doubtless right in believing that the word is intended here to denote 'tin'. Moreover the Babylonian lead was derived from eastern Asia Minor, and it is not probable that the lead-mines of Greece were worked at so early a date. It is also possible that the scribe intended that we should read *ana* KÙ-KI, i. e. 'towards the Tin-land'. Tin, as we know from other sources, was already imported into Babylonia, and it is not found in either Asia Minor or Greece.[1]

I believe that Dr. Forrer is right in seeing in the 'Tin-land' the Spanish coast. It was at all events 'beyond'—the literal translation of the Sumerian *pal-ri*—the Western Sea. In Kaptara we have the Biblical Kaphtor, a name which also occurs among the geographical cartouches on the walls of the temple of Kom Ombo in Upper Egypt. Here, however, it belongs to the Graeco-Roman age. Kaptara would have been the half-way house between Spain and the Syrian coast, where the merchant ships of the Babylonians could have wintered. It has long since been recognized that Kaphtor is Krete, and the Sargonic inscription now makes this certain. It was a country which could be approached from the mainland of Western Asia only by sea and not by land. And the clay tablets employed as a writing material by the Kretan scribes indicate early contact with Babylonia. The name of Kaphtor has been

[1] See *Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello*, i, p. 55, where a copy is given of a pre-Sargonic tablet which mentions 5 manas of ZABAR KÙ-LUKHKHA, literally 'bronze (with) white tin', as well as another tablet describing three objects which contained 1 mana, 4 shekels of URUD LUKHKHA or 'white copper' and 4½ shekels of NE-KÙ 'new (?) tin'.

connected with that of Kaft which we find on the Egyptian monuments, and the Argive Gelanor by the side of the Karian γέλαν 'king' might be invoked in support of the connexion. But Kaft denoted Phoenicia, not Krete, in the Ptolemaic era, and at an earlier date it represented the coast of Northern Syria, including, perhaps, also Eastern Cilicia.

In Asia, the name 'Kaphtor' from the Davidic period onward seems to have been superseded by 'Chereth' or Krete, continuing to be used, if at all, in an archaistic sense. In Amos ix. 7 the Philistines are stated to have come from Kaphtor (as was also the original reading in Gen. x. 14), and in Jer. xlvii. 4 they are called 'the colony (*sh*ᵉ*êrîth*) of the isle of Kaphtor', but in Ezek. xxv. 16 'Cherethites' (*K*ᵉ*rêthîm*) takes the place of Kaphtor, and already in the time of David, as we learn from 1 Sam. xxx. 14, the country south of Gaza was known as that of the Cherethites. The body-guard of David himself and his immediate successors consisted of 'Cherethites and Pelethites' (2 Sam. viii. 18), that is to say of Cherethites and Philistines, the two names having been made to rhyme together by their Jewish associates like 'Kabil and Habil', Cain and Abel, in modern Arabic parlance.[1] We may gather that in the time of David a distinction was still made between the Philistines of Gaza with its companion cities and their Kretan relatives who had settled to the south of them.

That the 'Kᵉrêthîm' represent the 'Kretans' seems to me to admit of little doubt. But another possibility must be mentioned. The Hebrew name could conceivably correspond to the Greek Γόρτυν. Gortyn was the city of 'the ox'—a relative of the Knossian Minotaur—according to certain 'Kretan' glosses in Hesychius which read: κάρτην· βοῦν and καρτεμνίδες· οἱ Γορτύνιοι. In this case the south of

[1] The Davidic body-guard of foreign mercenaries was modelled after those of other Asiatic (and Egyptian) kings. It was thus the counterpart of the Khabiri of Babylonia and the Khabiriyas of the Hittite monarchs.

Judah would have been peopled by the 'ox-men' of Gortyn. At any rate 'the brook Cherith' (K^{e}rîth, 1 Kings xvii. 3) claims connexion with the Cherethites; it appears to have been in the neighbourhood of Beisan, and Beisan (Beth-shan) was at one time a Philistine stronghold (1 Sam. xxxi. 9, 10).

A. H. Sayce

SOME MINOAN POTTER'S-WHEEL DISCS

(Plates XVIII, XIX, XX, and XXI.)

THE discs described in the following pages were found in Minoan strata in the excavations of Gournia, Phaistos, Hagia Triada, Tylissos, and Knossos, and are preserved in the Candia Museum.

Their discoverers[1] looked on them as tables either sacred or otherwise, or else as the lids of pithoi. But when about fifteen years ago I was entering them in the inventory of the Museum their likeness to the clay discs used by the modern potters in Crete led me to the opinion that they are parts of Minoan potter's-wheels, of which the rest being of wood like those of to-day had naturally disappeared.

Subsequently I imparted this view to the French scholar, M. L. Franchet, who has a particular knowledge of the technical side of the potter's art, when he came to study the technique of the clay vases in the Museum. He, after some hesitation and after subjecting the discs to a thorough examination and comparison with the modern Cretan's wheel, accepted my interpretation and proceeded to publish six of the discs, five of clay and one of marble.[2]

M. Franchet calls the discs *girelles*, and considers that they were the upper member of wooden potter's-wheels (*tours* τροχοί, or *tournettes* τροχία)[3] of the latest Bronze Age.

I have thought it well that I should now publish all the discs, partly because, as I said, I was the first to recognize them for what they are, and partly because I believe that I can supply a fuller and more accurate description of this tool of the Minoan potter.

[1] H. Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, Philadelphia, 1908, p. 42, pl. VIII, nos. 32, 33.

[2] L. Franchet, *Recherches techniques, &c.* (*Extrait des nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques*, fasc. 15, Paris, 1916, pp. 38–55, figs. 1–7, Planches I, II).

[3] For the distinction between these words for which English has only one see p. 121.

With two exceptions the discs are of clay—five from Gournia, one whole one and one fragment from Phaistos, one and one fragment from Tylissos, and one incomplete from Hagia Triada. The two marble specimens come, the one from Knossos, and the other, which is imperfect, from Tylissos (plates XVIII and XIX).

I propose to describe each of the above separately, and to illustrate both sides of them; for there are certain differences to be observed, and besides, the reader will thus grasp the working of the apparatus.

I. Clay

A. *Gournia* (XVIII. *a* and *b*).

No. 6738.[2] A disc of baked clay, reddish. Diameter ·29 m., thickness ·05 m. The upper surface is uniformly flat all over, but the under surface has a hole in the centre, ·025 m. deep, and round it half a dozen concentric circles incised, of which the outermost is ·16 m. in diameter. In the hole, and partly over the circles, there is preserved some dried-up ancient clay which had served to bind this clay disc to the top of the wooden disc (the head, κεφαλή) of the potter's-wheel.[3] The concentric grooves were intended to give the binding clay a firmer grip, and the central hole had the same object, and perhaps was also designed to take the head of the wooden axle of the wheel which may have projected a little, all to give greater rigidity.

This disc shows the simplest and most characteristic type of the apparatus, and the presence of the binding clay removes all doubt as to its purpose and use, as we shall see later on.

No. 3169. A thick disc of coarse red clay. The full

[1] M. Franchet, *op. cit.*, p. 47, speaks of them roughly as *une quinzaine*, and publishes six, including one of the stone examples (Planches I, II).

[2] The numbers are those of the Museum inventory of clay objects.

[3] See p. 121.

diameter is ·35 m., and its thickness ·07 m. The upper side has a central flat area ·27 m. in diameter outside which is a deep circular channel, while the edge is ornamented with a twist pattern (*en torsade*). In the middle of the lower side is a flat circular space ·175 m. in diameter, projecting a little above the inner edge of the outer part, which is made to slope inwards and downwards from the edge of the disc, giving a slight concavity to this lower side. In the centre there is a hole ·03 m. wide and ·01 m. deep, and round the centre ring there are thirteen holes, so small as barely to admit the nail of the little finger, no doubt to bind and grip the clay.[1]

No. 3167. Disc of whitish clay. Diameter ·305 m., thickness ·06 m. The upper surface was originally flat, but has been apparently deliberately roughened into holes and bumps. The lower side, however, is extremely well preserved, and shows the usual central hole ·05 m. in diameter and ·025 m. in depth. Round this are eight shallow concentric grooves with the like number of ridges between them. Beyond is a deeper surrounding groove, and then comes the rim, which is somewhat raised.

No. 3166. Disc of red clay. Diameter ·34 m., thickness ·06 m. The flat upper surface (diam. ·25 m.) stands out about ·01 m. above the rim, which has two grooves running round it. The lower surface has a small flat central disc ·15 m. in diameter, with a central hole ·04 m. in diameter and ·03 m. deep. The rest of the surface slopes downwards and inwards from the edge, and has two concentric grooves running round the inner disc.

No. 3165. This disc of bright red clay is in splendid condition. The full diameter is ·35 m., and the thickness ·05 m. The upper surface has a flat area ·25 m. in diameter surrounded by two grooves, and the rim has a bevel. The lower surface again shows the central hole ·03 m. deep and ·04 m. across, and a slightly raised central area ·175 m.

[1] Published as a 'round table' in *Gournia*, p. 42, pl. VIII, no. 33.

in diameter, of which the excellent preservation shows a close network of incised cross-hatching obviously to give the binding clay a better grip.[1]

B. *Tylissos* (XIX. *a* and *b*).

No. 7115. This disc was found in Dr. Hatzidakis's excavation,[2] and is the largest. Diameter ·40 m., thickness ·05 m. to ·06 m. The clay is coarse and mixed with sand and grit. The upper side is flat all over but for two shallow grooves near the rim with a ridge between them. The under side has the usual central conical hole ·03 m. deep and ·05 m. across. Round the hole is a flat raised circular area ·15 m. in diameter, looking like an addition stuck on. The rest slopes downwards and inwards, with two circular grooves joined by parallel incisions close to the raised centre, and one close to the edge. All these were doubtless to bind the clay. The outer edge has parallel slanting grooves forming a twist pattern. The disc is pierced by three small holes near the edge, two close together and the third opposite. The purpose of these may have been to get greater firmness by nailing the disc to the wooden portion of the wheel, or merely to take a string to hang the disc up by when not in use on the wheel. But in that case one would have sufficed.

There is also a fragment, about one-sixth, of another similar clay disc from Tylissos.

C. *Phaistos* (XIX. *a* and *b*).

No. 3549. This disc of red clay was found in the excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission. Diameter ·033 m., thickness ·05 m. The upper surface is uniformly flat and shows faint traces of a wash of red glaze. Round

[1] Published as a 'round table' in *Gournia*, p. 42, pl. VIII, no. 32.

[2] Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1912, σελ. 230–1, εἰκ. 39. Franchet, French translation of above, Paris, 1921, p. 75, fig. 39. The illustration shows also the fragment that was found of another of these discs, and two more besides; the last two however, are not from a potter's-wheel.

the edge are three concentric grooves separated by ridges. The edge has slanting grooves forming a twist pattern. The lower surface has the usual conical hole at the centre ·03 m. deep and ·06 m. across. Round it is a flat circular area ·13 m. in diameter, raised about ·02 m. The surface of this area has incised cross-hatching, and its edge a set of perpendicular deep nicks. The outer portion of the under surface slopes downwards and inwards and bears what may be called an incised wreath surrounding the central area, about half-way towards the edge. All these incisions had the same practical object of binding the clay.

No. 3961. This fragment, about one-third of the whole disc, came from the same excavation. The clay is reddish and mixed with sand and grit. The upper surface is flat all over. The lower has the usual central hole, and round it three incised concentric circles, of which the outer two are joined by parallel lines. Outside these was incised (before the baking of the clay) a large double axe with shaft.[1] It is not easy to attach a meaning to the presence of this symbol of the double axe on this clay implement, or to guess whether its significance was sacred, apotropaic, or merely that of a potter's mark.

D. *Hagia Triada* (XIX. *a* and *b*).

No. 7912. This disc, of which we have about three-fifths, has a quantity of grit, both white and purple, mixed with its clay. The upper surface is uniformly flat but for a narrow deep groove round the rim. There are faint traces of a reddish-yellow wash applied to a small circular area at the centre and to an encircling zone some distance from the central area.

The lower side has the usual hole at the centre, ·04 m. deep and ·05 m. across. Round the hole is a raised central

[1] Sig. Pernier published this fragment in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xiv, 1905, p. 440 (*estratto*, p. 134), fig. 54. He calls it *pezzo di grosso disco in terracotta forse coperchio di un pithos.*

area ·115 m. in diameter, standing up about ·015 m. Outside this the surface is covered by five deep concentric grooves separated by ridges. The rim is the thickest part of the disc, as it juts out above both surfaces. Edge and lower surface both show faint traces of black splodges. Two holes close together by the rim were probably intended for string to hang the disc by.

To what Minoan period these clay discs belong cannot be decided for certain. Perhaps when the definite publication of Phaistos and Hagia Triada is brought forth, we may be enlightened; that is, if these rude objects should prove to have been thought worthy of an accurate note as to the strata they were found in.

The first five from Gournia look L. M. I or II, like most of the movable objects found in that excavation. But it is never an easy matter to settle the dating of rough objects of everyday use without ornamentation because they are almost always alike in all Minoan periods.

As for No. 3549 from Phaistos, and No. 7912 from Hagia Triada, I believe that they are older, basing my view on the bright red wash on their upper surface, which is particularly common in the Middle Minoan period. For several of the discs an indication of comparatively early date might have been found in the grit and sand in their clay, which was not fortuitous, but for the practical reason for it in the need for making the disc as heavy as possible.

II. Stone (xix. *a* and *b*).

We cannot be sure that the two marble discs now to be considered served the same purpose as those of clay. We are certain that the clay discs belong to the potter's-wheel, but it is quite probable that those of stone were really three-legged tables, the three legs being fitted into the holes on the under side.[1]

[1] A great many similar round tables with three legs in clay have been found on Cretan sites, especially at Niróu Cháni (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1922, σελ. 8,

No. 72.[1] A disc of white marble found in Sir Arthur Evans's excavations at Knossos. Diameter ·295 m., thickness ·052 m. The upper surface consists of a flat circular area ·215 m. in diameter, and of a raised rim ·04 m. wide. The under side has a diameter of only ·285 m. because the under edge of the rim is bevelled off. The under side is flat all over. Close to the rim there are three pairs of uniform holes, ·015 m. wide and ·25 m. deep, equidistant from one another. These may have been sockets to take pegs by which the stone disc was fastened to the wooden 'head' of the wheel and held tight—that is, if it really was part of a potter's-wheel. On the other hand, if it was a table, the holes would have taken the bolts that fastened on the three legs.

A noteworthy feature is the presence of three grooves on the lower part of the edge which are smooth, as if they had been polished, while the surface elsewhere is roughish. M. Franchet, who noticed this detail, says[2] that it is due to the chafing of the cord by which the disc and wheel were put in motion, and he adds that this method of using a rope to turn the wheel is in use to-day in China.

No. 1565. A segment (about 29/60) of a disc of white marble, found by Dr. Hatzidakis at Tylissos. The full diameter was ·29 m., the thickness ·045 m. Thus it was nearly as wide as the other stone specimen, but thinner. The upper side is like that of the other, with a flat central area ·22 m. in diameter, and a slightly raised rim ·035 m. wide.

The under side, which is flat all over, has holes like the

15. εἰκ. 8, 12). A similar three-legged table in steatite (no. 65) comes from the Palace at Knossos, but the three palmette-shaped legs and the top of the table are cut out of the one piece of stone.

[1] The numbers are those of the Museum Inventory of stone objects.

[2] Franchet, *Recherches*, *op. cit.*, p. 49; *Céramique Primitive*, *op. cit.*, p. 63, fig. 11.

other, which admit of the same alternative interpretations. There are the same three grooves for the rope to turn it.

If these marble discs did, like those in clay, belong to potter's-wheels, then the pegs that fitted into the holes must have been sufficient to fix them to the wooden disc of the wheel, for there is no central hole, nor are there any grooves on the under surface, nor any signs of binding clay.

III. The Use of the Discs

Having described the actual discs, we shall now proceed to explain the method of their use. We have said that the clay discs cannot be either tables of offerings or pithos lids; and in fact in their general appearance and in certain details there are indications that point to a different use. M. Franchet calls them *girelles*, and is of opinion that they were, each of them, the upper disc of the potter's-wheel (*tour* or *tournette*), made intentionally heavy to provide the desired momentum when the wheel was in motion. This view of M. Franchet's is substantially correct, but exposition and proof in more precise terms are needed for its confirmation, and to ensure the practical use of the apparatus being fully understood.

This desired exposition and confirmation are given us in full by the practice of the local Cretan potters who use the same disc: in particular the potters of Thrapsanos, a large village lying about 20 kilometres south-east of Knossos, and 10 kilometres west of the ancient site of Lyktos. These tour the island for about three months in the summer in parties of ten to twelve, and set up temporary factories in suitable spots where the right kind of clay, water, and wood for the kiln are to be found and there are villages near by to provide a market for their handiwork. They have practised the art of pottery for hundreds of years; for we read in Ἁμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία, the

book by the Cretan monk Agapios Landos which was first printed in Venice in 1642, that the inhabitants of this village "εἶναι ὅλοι τσουκαλᾶδες",[1] that is, are all potters. In earlier days it seems that the wares of the Thrapsanos[2] potters were more varied, but to-day the ease with which earthenware and metal vessels are imported from abroad has caused the numbers of these local products to dwindle. All the same, the men of Thrapsanos make a sufficient variety, e. g. stamnoí and smaller stamnía, lágenoi, oinochoai (all varieties of jug or pitcher), gástres (flower-pots), kypsélai (hives or boxes), skýphoi, potéria (cups and tumblers), phlaskía (flagons), and above all large and small pithoi.

Moreover, they make leaded wares, basins and other dishes, with a glaze of oxide of lead or litharge.

Now these same Cretan potters, who have practised the art in the island for centuries, still keep in use the old-fashioned tools of their trade, as is the case, too, in most of the other island handicrafts. They use very much the same processes, technical methods, and tools as did their ancestors of prehistoric times thousands of years ago. For example, Hesiod's clumsy wooden plough is in common use to-day in Crete, and Hesiod's names, or something very like them, are still given to its parts. And many ancient implements, known by their ancient names, are still used by farmers, shepherds,[3] and wool-spinners, so that a visitor to the prehistoric Museum at Candia might see there a number of tools that are perfectly modern in form. In particular, if he paid attention to the implements from Gournia, that small agricultural and industrial Minoan town from which came the five clay discs of plate XVIII, *a* and *b*,

[1] Ἁμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία ed. Νικολαΐδης ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1908, σελ. 478.

[2] The derivation of the name appears to be from θάλπω; cf. Λεξικογραφ. Ἀρχεῖον Μέσης καὶ Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Τομ. Ε′ (Ἀθῆναι, 1920) σελ. 99–101.

[3] Cf. the article Ποιμενικὰ Κρήτης in Λεξικογραφ. Ἀρχεῖον Τομ. Ε′ 1920, σελ. 267–323.

or those from Hagia Triada, he would be astounded to see saws, mattocks, and picks, pots and pitchers, fishing-tackle, and coppersmiths' tools exactly like those of to-day. The only difference, in fact, in the metal implements is that the prehistoric specimens are of copper or bronze while the modern are mostly of iron.

It is very much the same with the ceramic art. The modern potters in the island work in very much the same way as their remoter ancestors. They use similar tools and implements, and when it comes to the ordinary vessels of everyday use, such as pithoi for example, they turn out something that is not very unlike the ancestral article.

Now the most important tool both in ancient and modern pottery is without doubt the *potter's-wheel.* The invention and use go back to a very remote period, since not only do we find Homer[1] mentioning it as a thing within the knowledge of all when he compares the circular movement of the Cretan dancers to the swift whirling of the potter's-wheel, but excavation on prehistoric sites has shown that in Crete in particular it goes back to early Minoan days, and was in common use at any rate in the Middle Minoan period, at least two thousand years B.C., when it had been brought to such perfection as to produce the wonderful delicacy and technical perfection of the well-known 'egg-shell' cups of Knossos[2] and Phaistos.

The potter's-wheel, as we see it in the few surviving illustrations of it and read of it in the ancient sources, is very much the same as we see it in use to-day by the native potters of the island.[3] This will be made plain by the description that follows of the actual wheels used by them.

[1] *Iliad* xviii. 600–1. [2] Evans, *Palace*, i, p. 241, pl. II.

[3] For illustrations of the potter's wheel in ancient Greek times see the article *Figlinum Opus* in Daremberg and Saglio, vol. ii, p. 1121 ff., and Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie*, Band II, s. 3 ff., and Franchet, *Céramique*, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.

In 1916, being persuaded that in the clay discs described above we possess parts of Minoan potter's-wheels of which the rest has decayed away, being of wood like the modern wheels, I went to the little village of Silamos beyond Knossos, on the northern slopes of Mount Juktas (ancient Ἰυτός, the tomb of Zeus), where a party of ten potters from Thrapsanos had set up a summer vase-factory under the direction of a master craftsman, Georgíos Chnarakis, who is seen in plate XXI. I stayed there for hours, inquired into and made myself master of everything connected with the craft, wrote down the modern technical terms, and saw the method and sequence of the whole process of manufacture.

Naturally I paid particular attention to the wheel, making a close investigation of its various parts and its way of working, and I took three photographs of it (plates XX. *a*, *b* and XXI), to remove any doubts as to its form or constituent parts or the method of its use.

Two forms of wheel are used to-day as in ancient times, one put in motion by the foot, called the τροχός (*tour*); the other by the hand, called the τροχί (*tournette*).

Both are made of stout solid timbers.

The τροχός (plate XX. *a*).

This is used for throwing the smaller kinds of vessel, that is, for all the various forms enumerated above except the pithos.

The parts of the τροχός are:

The κεφαλαρά, the wooden disc at the top (Franchet's *girelle*).

The σκαμνί, the big wooden disc at the bottom, which is turned by the foot (Franchet's *volant*).

The ἀρδάκτι (anc. Gk. ἄτρακτος), the wooden vertical axle to the two ends of which the two discs are firmly attached (Franchet's *arbre de couche*).

The μοχλός, an iron pin projecting one centimetre from the lower end of the axle, and serving as a pivot

for the wheel. It works in a hole in a small slab of hard stone (δρακονόπετρα[1]) or of metal. This slab is known as

The πλιθί (anc. Gk. πλινθίον), and is firmly fixed in the soil (Franchet's *crapaudine*).

The σταυροσάνιδον, a long plank with a hole through which the axle passes, designed to hold the wheel steady and prevent oscillations.

When the wheel has been fixed in place, the potter sits down and puts it in motion with his foot, using first one and then the other alternately, while he uses his two hands to form the vase on a clay slab (the πλάκα); for the clay from which the potter moulds and forms the vase is not placed straight on the upper wooden disc, but on a circular slab of clay which is stuck with clay afresh each time to the upper wooden disc (the κεφαλαρά). This clay disc is visible in the three illustrations (plates xx. *a*, *b* and xxi). *Now this attachable clay disc, this* πλάκα *as it is called, is the same thing as the Minoan clay discs described above*, and there can be no further doubt that these served the same purpose.

The modern potters of Thrapsanos always keep a stock of these discs (πλάκας), and take them with them, with the rest of their gear, on their tours, if they do not leave them on the spot to be ready for their next periodical visit. The only point in which these modern discs differ from the Minoan is that they are thinner, for greater ease of carriage; but the practical disadvantage of their lack of weight is overcome by the use of a much larger quantity of binding clay (as appears in plate xx. *a*).

The only parts of the τροχός (and of the τροχί too) that are not shown in plates xx and xxi are the πλιθί fixed in the ground, and the μοχλός, the metal pivot, revolving in the socket of the πλιθί.

[1] Cf. *Vaulted Tombs of Mesará*, p. 76.

The τροχί (plates xx. *b* and xxi). (Franchet's *tournette*.)

This is a more primitive τροχός and smaller, as is implied by the diminutive form of name. It has only one wooden disc at the upper part, and is therefore turned by hand, either by the potter himself or, as is more usual, by a boy assistant, an apprentice to the trade who, from his job, is called the τροχάρις.

Like the τροχός, the τροχί consists of the wooden disc (the κεφαλαρά), the wooden axle (the ἀρδάκτι) ending in an iron point (the μοχλός), which spins in the socket of the stone or metal base (the πλιθί). It, too, is kept steady by the σταυροσάνιδον. It is put in motion by means of the two ends of a wooden bar passing horizontally through the axle. These two handles are called the περόναι (plates xx. *b* and xxi), and by grasping them the assistant can spin the wheel as fast or as slowly as his master bids.

And for the τροχί, too, the attachable clay disc, the πλάκα, is found just as indispensable. It is clearly to be seen in figs. 4 and 5, stuck on to the wooden head.

On this primitive τροχί the Cretan potters of to-day make pithoi that do not differ very much from the well-known Minoan specimens (plate xxi). The modern practice shows that our Minoan discs may come from either the foot-turned τροχός or the hand-turned τροχί. We may suppose that those with the smaller diameter, e. g. the two stone specimens, in diameter ·21 m. and ·22 m., and of the clay, nos. 3167 (diam. ·24 m.), 3166 (diam. ·25 m.), and 3165 (diam. ·24 m.), were for use on τροχοί for the making of smaller vases, while the rest, with diameters ranging from ·29 m. to ·40 m., were for τροχία, and the manufacture of pithoi. Indeed, the base diameter of these is usually from ·30 m. upwards.[1]

[1] For example, three pithoi measured in the Candia Museum have base diameters of ·31 m., ·33 m., and ·36 m. respectively. But, of course, pithoi have been found larger than this and also smaller.

IV. The Modern Process of Making Pithoi

It will, perhaps, not be impertinent to describe in a few words the method by which the modern Cretan potter makes a pithos on the τροχί, as I saw it done myself; the more so as I suspect that the numerous Minoan pithoi, as many of them as are wheel-made, were made by much the same process.

The maker of the pithoi is the master-potter of the party, who is called the μάστορας or πρωτομάστορας (Byz. μαΐστωρ πρωτομαΐστωρ). This is because pithos-making is the branch of the art calling for the greatest experience and technical skill.[1] He makes about ten pithoi at the same time in a day. A necessary preliminary is for the party to dig a set of holes in a line, known as τροχολάκκοι, which are built round inside with small walls like hearths, and in each such hearth one τροχί is fixed.[2] Thus there are as many τροχία as there are hearths, and the number is that of the pithoi to be made simultaneously each day by the master potter. On the other hand, the gang use only one of the foot-driven τροχοί for making smaller vessels.

When the τροχία are in position, each with a supply of potter's clay, the master potter starts the job of making the pithoi on the clay discs, the πλάκαι, which have been made to adhere to the wooden discs, the κεφαλαραί, by a good quantity of clay. He first makes the circular base, the πάτος, of the first pithos on the first τροχί, put in

[1] That this was generally recognized is shown by the ancient Greek proverb ἐν πίθῳ τὴν κεραμείαν μανθάνειν, learning pottery on the pithos, applied to persons attempting the most difficult tasks without the necessary experience. Cf. Plato, *Laches* 187 B καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τὸ λεγόμενον κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ὑμῖν συμβάινῃ, ἐν πίθῳ ἡ κεραμεία γιγνομένη.

[2] Cf. Franchet, *Recherches*, *op. cit.*, p. 52, fig. 4, for the shape of the τροχολάκκοι. The σταυροσάνιδον is put across the top of the τροχολάκκος at the ground level and the κεφαλαρά rests on it. The πλιθί is at the bottom of the τροχολάκκος, which is large enough for the τροχάρις to squat in it with his hands on the περόναι out of the way of the μάστορας.

motion by the τροχάρις, then he goes to the second τροχί and makes the base of the second pithos, and so on till he has finished the base of the last, the tenth, or it may be the twelfth. Then he returns to the first τροχί, where the base has dried in the interval, and he adds to it (the word used is φυτεύγει) the first cylindrical section, which is called the φύτεμα, comprising about one-sixth of the height. He adds the φύτεμα to all in turn, and then, returning to the first, he fits on the second section, called the πρώτη στομωσιά, which is bound to the φύτεμα by a ζωνάρι, that is, by a belt of clay applied outside, which is pressed in by the two fingers, as the wheel spins, forming a couple of grooves. All the different sections are bound and keyed together in this way. These belts of moulded grooves can be seen plainly on the pithos of plate XXI. When the πρώτη στομωσιά has been added to all ten, the potter next adds the third section, the στρογγυλή στομωσιά, always beginning with the first pithos. Next comes the section called the ντρέτη στομωσιά (ντρέτη = εὐθεῖα, κάθετος vertical), then the μεγάλη στομωσιά, which is the tallest section, then the sixth and last, called the χείλωμα. When he puts this on he is said to fit on the collar (τραχηλώνει). The last operation is to fit on the three large handles (ἀφτιά ears), which the potter makes separately, and in doing this he is said to 'ear the pithos' (ἀφτώνει).

Throughout the whole process the left hand of the potter is kept inside the pithos that is being made, while the right hand, which is kept outside, keeps drawing the clay upwards with a flat piece of wood (known as the ξύλο [1]), thinning the walls and smoothing (μαγληνίζει) the outer surface of the pithos as the wheel spins (fig. 5).

In this way the master potter (ὁ πιθαρᾶς) can make ten or twelve pithoi in one day with the help of the τροχάρις and of the man who keeps him supplied with clay.

[1] The ancient name for this stick was ξυλήφιον or κάνναβος, Πολυδ. Ὀνομ. vii. 164.

The second potter (the *σοτομάστορας*), as stated, makes other vessels on the foot-driven *τροχός*.

The pithoi and the other vases, after drying in the open, are carried to the potter's kiln, where they are fired.

In the building, form, and arrangement of their kiln, and in their method of firing, the modern Cretan potters assuredly continue the traditional practices of their forefathers.[1] And the technical terms of the modern Cretan potter are also an ancient legacy from classical and Byzantine times, to demonstrate which I append a few more potters' phrases in use to-day.

The clay used is called *χῶμα* and *πιθαρόχωμα*. But there is one particular sort known as *λεπίδα* (blade), from its formation in thin layers of different colours. Then, according to the quality of the clay, they either use it in its natural state (the adjective used is *μονόλογος* = of one kind) or, if it is too heavy (*παχεῖα*), they mix in a proportion of the lighter *λεπίδα* to prevent the pot from cracking in the kiln (*νὰ μὴ κόβγῃ*).

The *ἁπλωταρέα*, or spreading-out ground, is a flat space got ready near the factory. Here the clay is pounded into powder (*κοπανίζεται*) with large wooden pestles (*κοπάνοι*), then it is sieved (*κοσκινίζεται*) and piled in a heap (*σωρός*). The heap is said to be slit (*σχίζεται*), that is, a large hole is made in it, and filled with water brought from the spring or well near by, and then all hands at once start working the water into the clay (*κουβαλοῦν τὸ νερό*) and kneading it (*μαλάσσουν*) first with the hands and then with the feet. They keep this up for a long while, till the whole mass of the clay acquires the desired degree of plasticity.

The firing (*τὸ ψήσιμο*) of the vessels is done in the kiln (*τὸ καμίνι*), formed in a cavity dug out of a slope (*κατηφορικό, χυματερό*), and built round with slabs of sandstone (*ἀμμουδάρες*) or of some volcanic stone that will stand the

[1] Franchet (*Recherches, op. cit.*, pp. 49–55, figs. 3–7) describes the processes of the modern Cretan potters as he saw them.

fire. The kiln is divided horizontally into two parts, the hearth at the bottom where the wood is burnt and the upper chamber which holds the pots, by a floor (*πάτος*) of stone slabs covered with a layer of clay. The *πάτος* is supported by a large built-up central pillar (*κολώνα*), from which spring arches (*καμαράκια*) of volcanic stone to the outer wall. There are large holes (*ἀφανοί*)[1] in the *πάτος* to allow the heat to reach the vases.

The hole in front of the mouth of the kiln is called the *βορθί* (anc. Gk. *βόθρος*). In this stands the stoker (*ὁ καμινάρις*), and pokes the fire (*συμπαίνει τὴ φωτία*) with a two-pronged (*διχαλωτό*) iron poker known as a *φρυγούνι* (anc. Gk. *φρύγετρον* or *σκάλευθρον*), fitted (*στελειωμένον*, cf. anc. Gk. *στειλειόν* = handle of axe, *στειλεία* = hole in axe for handle) to a wooden shaft (*κοντάρι*, anc. Gk. *κοντός*). The firing lasts from five to six hours, after which the kiln is allowed to cool. Next morning they take out the vases (*ξεκαμινιάζουν*) and leave them till evening, when they quench them (*σβήνουν*) with a wet cloth to prevent them from crumbling and falling to pieces (*νὰ μὴ λυκώσουν*).

The Thrapsanos parties usually consist of from seven to twelve members, namely:

ὁ μάστορας, πρωτομάστορας, πιθαρᾶς, the master potter, the head who directs all the operations and makes the pithoi on the *τροχί*.

ὁ σοτομάστορας, the second potter, who makes all the other vessels on the foot-driven *τροχός*.

ὁ τροχάρις, the assistant who turns the *τροχί* for the master potter.

ὁ καμινάρις, the kiln stoker.

ὁ χωματάς, the man who digs out the clay.

ὁ ξυλοφόρος, the man who cuts the wood for fuel.

ὁ κουβαλητής, the man who brings the clay and wood to where they are wanted.

[1] Cf. Franchet, *Recherches*, *op. cit.*, p. 53, figs. 5 and 6.

Thus each member of the party has his own special job, but there are other jobs in which several take part—for instance, the kneading of the clay. They most of them, too, share in the labour of transporting their finished ware from the factory to the villages. Under this aspect they are known as *προγοί* (= *ὑπουργοί*). They put the vessels on donkey-back, for each member of the party has his own donkey, his 'property' *par excellence* (*τὸ κτῆμά του*).

The band begin their peregrinations about the middle of May and finish in the first ten days of August, when they return home with the money they have earned and devote themselves to agricultural operations for the rest of the year. They do, however, make pots at Thrapsanos, too, where they have a permanent plant with kilns and clay and everything else ready to hand.

Stéphanos Xanthoudídes

a. UPPER SIDE

b. UNDER SIDE

XVIII. THE FIVE CLAY DISCS FROM GOURNIA

a. UPPER SIDE

b. UNDER SIDE

XIX DISCS FROM TYLISSOS, PHAISTOS, HAGIA TRIADA, AND KNOSSOS

a. The *Τροχός*

b. The *Τροχί*

XXI. How the pithos is made on the *Τροχί*

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